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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA–ITS LEADERS AND ACTIVITIES, 1904-1939

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THE Bibliographical Society of America is neither a section nor an affiliate of the American Library Association, but deserves a place in Dr. Frank P. Hill's projected history of the A. L. A.* for a variety of reasons. Librarians were the prime movers in the organization of its parent society, the Bibliographical Society of Chicago (1899-1904); the development of this into a national society was discussed at several meetings of the American Library Association and effected in the formation of the Bibliographical Society of America at the St. Louis Conference of the A. L. A.; and this close association with the A. L. A. has been maintained ever since by annual

* Dr. Hill's work was unhappily interrupted by illness and this chapter, shortly before his death, was relinquished to the Bibliographical Society of America. The paper is published approximately as it was written late in the year 1939. Attention is called to the increase in membership from some 600 at the end of 1939 to about 840 (September, 1941), which might alter to some extent the writer's analyses of the residence and professional interests of the membership. — Editor.

and other meetings, joint bibliographical undertakings and other common interests. The first by-law of the Bibliographical Society of America required that "the time and place of the annual meeting of the Society shall correspond with the date and place of the meeting of the American Library Association, unless otherwise determined by vote of the council," and the omission of this requirement in the revised Constitution and By-Laws of 1927 (when the Society was incorporated) has not altered the practice.

So far as any one person may be designated as founder, the honor belongs to Aksel G. S. Josephson, who acted as chairman of the committee formed to organize the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, arranged several preliminary meetings in the spring of 1899, and at the organization meeting in October of that year expressed the hope that "the organization of this society may lead to the founding of a national bibliographical society." Mr. Josephson was at the time in the fourth year of his long service as Chief Cataloguer of the John Crerar Library and his published bibliographical work had already begun in 1892, just a year before he came to the United States; his bibliographies of Swedish dissertations (1892-97), on the history of science (1911-15) and the history of industry (1915), and his *Bibliographies of Bibliographies* (1901, second ed. 1910-13) are merely the best known and most used of his many bibliographical contributions. He served as Secretary of the Chicago society 1899-1903 and then as President 1903-04, was for thirty years almost constantly either an officer, editor, or member of Council of the Bibliographical Society of America; his contributions to the Society's papers and discussions were many and varied, e. g. *Efficiency and Bibliographical Research, Plan for a Complete Bibliography of American Literature and for a Bibliographical Institute, Literature of the Invention of Printing, Fifteenth-Century Editions of Fasciculus Temporum in American Libraries*, etc. Though now retired, he still maintains a keen and active interest in the Society.

The first President of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago (1899-1901) was Charles H. Hastings, then connected with the Library of the University of Chicago. Joining the Library of Congress staff in 1901, he has rendered conspicuous world wide service to bibliography through the expert service of the Card Division of which he is chief. Professor Camillo von Klenze, of the German faculty of the University of Chicago, succeeded Hastings (1901-03) and was succeeded by Josephson (1903-04). Josephson thus played the leading role both in founding the Chicago society and in organizing the Bibliographical Society of America with the Chicago group as a local chapter. The continuance of this Chicago chapter is significant of the strength of such local organizations, as its demise, in 1912, is significant of some of the weaknesses of a national society.

The Organization Committee of the Bibliographical Society of America, which took over, with slight modification, the Constitution proposed by the Chicago group, consisted of John Thomson, Wilberforce Eames and William Coolidge Lane. Thomson was at once librarian of a public library (the Free Library of Philadelphia) and bibliographer of rare works of literature. The Society's census of fifteenth-century books owned in America was undertaken, almost with the beginning of the Society, upon his initiative and was carried on with his labor down to the time of his death in 1916. Eames was, and even after his death two years ago, still remains the Society's most distinguished bibliographer. His editing of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* began in 1885 and his work and advice were continued until its completion by the Society under the editorship of R. W. G. Vail (1930-36). Lane was Librarian of Harvard College Library from 1898 till his retirement in 1929, was the author of several of Harvard's *Bibliographical Contributions*, and was the president of the Bibliographical Society of America during the first five years of its existence.

After its organization, the affairs of the Bibliographical So-

ciety of America lay in the hands of the Council as provided in the Constitution: "A president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer and a librarian . . . the last ex-president, and four councilors. The officers shall be elected annually by the members of the society and shall serve until the election of their successors. Of the councilors one shall be elected each year." In 1916 an amendment was passed substituting *editor* for *librarian*, but the former wording was adopted in the Constitution drafted in 1927, in connection with the incorporation of the Society, and approved by the Society in 1928. Ten years later a new amendment deleted the word *librarian*. In 1938, in view of the increased amount of routine work in the offices of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Chairman of the Publication Committee, the Council appointed a Permanent Secretary, with nominal stipend, to serve as the executive officer of the Society in all routine matters, as managing editor of the Society's publications (*cf. News Sheet* 50), and as collector and custodian of the Society's archives.

Before the appointment of a Permanent Secretary, it should occasion no great suprise to find that there were periods of rather casual attention to routine business of other than financial import. Thus elections were sometimes held in haste, sometimes forgotten, and sometimes unrecorded in the Society's publications. However, such circumstances are not unnatural in a small and academic group of people possessing a high degree of mutual confidence, and not possessing a paid secretariat. The case of a councillor elected to succeed a man whose term had not expired and the leaving in office of one whose term had expired may serve as examples of the difficulty of compiling the following lists, in which it is hoped that the successions are pretty well established.

The lists given in the front of each volume of the *Papers* fairly regularly down to volume 18 (1924) show some inaccuracies (e. g. the list given in volume 7, page 6, for the year 1911-12 is the list elected for 1913-14), and accordingly the "authentic" list based on these and published in *News Sheet* 12 is also incorrect.

The accompanying table is based, in the first place, on the records of elections as reported in minutes of meetings, etc. (place of publication indicated at foot of column), and the names of those reported elected or appointed by the Council are italicized. Names not so marked are carried over from preceding columns for the duration of the terms for which they had been elected (in case of members of the Council) or until their successors were elected. This scheme works out very satisfactorily until a series of years (1929-1932) for which no elections to the Council are reported. From this time on the succession seems again clear and authenticated. In years when no elections are reported, the method of determining terms apparently varied; in 1905 all the councillors' terms were lengthened by one year; similarly, sometime between 1929 and 1933, the four councillor terms seem to have been extended to five years; in other years, e. g. 1916, the election of councillors was for the remainders of the regular four-year terms. To supplement the printed sources, the writer has consulted the Society's archives and corresponded with most of the former officers and councillors who are still living.

Presidents

1904-09 William Coolidge Lane

1909-10 Azariah Smith Root, Librarian of Oberlin University, 1887-1928, honored with the title "Professor of Bibliography" early in his career (1890). He made important contributions to the Society in its organization period, in his papers on the origin of printing, etc., and in his two presidencies, 1909-10 and 1923-26.

1910-12 William Dawson Johnston, at the time Librarian of Columbia University, later of the St. Paul Public Library and (1921-25) of the American Library in Paris. In the early discussions of the Society his chief interest seems to have been in the proposed international catalogue of the current literature of the social sciences.

1912-13 Charles Henry Gould, Librarian of McGill University from 1892 until his death in 1919, and founder of the first library school in Canada (1904).

1913-14 Andrew Keogh, at the time Reference Librarian of Yale University, later Librarian (1916-38) and Sterling Professor of Bibliography (1924-38). His *Some General Bibliographical Works of Value to the Student of English*, 1901, is an early specimen of the range of his interest and distinction in bibliography. He served the Society also at various times as councillor, member of Publication Committee, and delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies.

1914-16 Carl Bismarck Roden, at the time Assistant Librarian, later (1918-) Librarian of the Chicago Public Library. He served as Treasurer of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago and of the Bibliographical Society of America till 1912, and was on the Society's Publication Committee for some twenty-five years.

1916-21 George Watson Cole, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library (1915-24). Most famous for his catalogues of the E. Dwight Church Library, the list of his other important works fills nearly half a column of *Who's Who in America*. The Society's publications include a number of his essays on bibliographical method, book collectors, etc., and his eager interest in a proposed series of monographs, to which he also contributed financially, continued up to his final illness in 1939.*

1921-23 William Warner Bishop, Librarian of the University of Michigan since 1915. His conspicuous contributions in the field of librarianship have included the promotion of standard bibliographies (e. g. for college libraries) although they have thrown into the background his more recondite bibliographical interests.

1923-26 Azariah Smith Root.

1926-29 Herman Henry Bernard Meyer, then director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, with which

* The Society is one of the beneficiaries of a trust established by Dr. Cole. The income from the property assigned to the Society (the George Watson Cole Publication Fund) is to be used to pay for some of the publications of the Society, including the issue of the *Papers* in which this study is printed. —Editor.

he was connected from 1905 till his retirement in 1935. The numerous practical subject bibliographies which he compiled in his work as Chief Bibliographer (1908-23) did not in the least dull his literary appreciation or his interest in his own collection of poetry, books printed by Bruce Rogers, etc. His *Bibliography in Relation to Business and the Affairs of Life* (B. S. A. *Papers*, vol. 10) contrasts "bibliography, the servant of the muses, and bibliography, the servant of the planner and doer of the world's work;" and his collection of over a hundred thousand cards toward a bibliography of American imprints 1800 to 1876 is characteristic of his vision and industry. He served on the Publication Committee for six years; was a member of the Council almost continuously from his presidency until his death in 1937; and during this latter period was active as a committee man in most of the Society's projects. First elected a delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies in 1928, he was its Secretary-Treasurer from 1935 until his death.

1929-31 Harry Miller Lydenberg, then Assistant Director and since 1934 Director of The New York Public Library. He has been one of the Society's delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies since 1928, succeeding Dr. Meyer as Secretary-Treasurer in 1937, has been a member of the Society's Council ever since his presidency, and has been indispensable to every important committee and project such as "Sabin," *Union List of Newspapers, Union List of International Congresses and Conferences, Incunabula in American Libraries a Second Census*, etc.

1931-33 Lawrence Counselman Wroth, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library since 1923 and Research Professor of American History in Brown University since 1932, author of many significant books on early American printing, and American books and historical documents. He is chairman of the Society's Publication Committee (since 1936) and of the Committee on the Second Census of Incunabula. His *The Bibliographical Way* (read before the Society in 1936 and published in the *Colophon*, n.s. vol. 3, no. 2) is a classic contribution to the discussions of bibliographical method.

1933-36 Augustus Hunt Shearer, Librarian of the Grosvenor Library since 1917, an editor of the *Guide to Historical Literature*, 1931, and author in bibliography and in history, the field of study from which he entered library work. During his presidency and, preceding that, his fourteen years as Secretary, the membership of the Society greatly increased, and the *News Sheet* developed from an ephemeral mimeographed circular in 1926 to a well-printed leaflet containing detailed proceedings of meetings and other "Notes and Queries" of permanent record value. Prevented by ill health from completing the third term of his presidency, he was able in his fortunate recovery to resume an active part in the Society's affairs as a member of the Council.

1936-37 Leonard Leopold Mackall, editor and literary historian of Goethe, and noted among bibliographers particularly for his contributions to the catalogue of the Osler Medical Library, 1929, his preparation of material for the catalogue of the W. J. De Renne Georgia Library, 1931, and his "Notes for Bibliophiles" column in the *New York Herald-Tribune Books*. The meetings over which he presided had a unique atmosphere of bibliographical learning blended with merry humor never to be forgotten by the audiences.

1937-38 Earl Gregg Swem, Librarian of William and Mary College, editor of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, and further distinguished for his bibliographies of Virginia and the Confederacy—particularly the *Virginia Historical Index*, which reviews have described as "beyond price," "altogether . . . a model of what such an index should be."

1938-39 Victor Hugo Paltsits, Keeper of Manuscripts and Chief of the American History Division of The New York Public Library, editor and author of numerous important historical and bibliographical works in the field of Americana. He had served the Society as a member of its Publication Committee, 1906-09, and as Vice-President, 1921-23; noteworthy among his contributions to the Society's papers and discussions is his *Plea for an Anatomical Method in Bibliography* (*Papers*, vol. 1).

1940 Randolph Greenfield Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library of American History at the University of Michigan, a distinguished teacher and scholar in American History and Bibliography, a champion of the librarian's rights and duties as bibliographer, and a presiding officer, conversationalist, and, if need be, controversialist, of liveliness, originality and humor.

First Vice-Presidents

1904-06 Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress from 1890 until his retirement in 1939.

1906-09 Reuben Gould Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin until his death in 1913.

1909-12 William Warner Bishop, then Superintendent of the Reading Room of the Library of Congress.

1912-13 Herman Henry Bernard Meyer, then Chief Bibliographer of the Library of Congress.

1913-14 Charles Homer Haskins, then Professor of History and Political Science and Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University.

1914-16 James Christian Meinich Hanson, then Associate Director of Libraries of the University of Chicago.

1916-17 Frederick Warren Jenkins, then Librarian of the Russell Sage Foundation.

1917-19 Herman Henry Bernard Meyer.

1919-20 George Parker Winship, then Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection of Harvard University.

1920-21 William Warner Bishop.

1921-22 Herman Henry Bernard Meyer.

1922-23 Lucius Lee Hubbard, Regent of the University of Michigan, bibliographer of *Gulliver's Travels*.

1923-26 Harry Miller Lydenberg.

1926-28 Charles Martel, then Chief of the Catalogue Division of the Library of Congress.

1928-29 Harry Miller Lydenberg.

1929-33 James Christian Meinich Hanson.

1933-35 George Burwell Utley, Librarian of the Newberry Library.
1935-36 Leonard Leopold Mackall.
1936-37 Earl Gregg Swem.
1937-38 Robert William Glenroie Vail, then Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.
1938-39 Randolph Greenfield Adams.
1940 Henry Raup Wagner, historian and bibliographer of early discoveries and the West.

Second Vice-Presidents

1904-06 Reuben Gould Thwaites.
1906-09 Ernest Cushing Richardson, then Librarian of Princeton University.
1909-10 William Dawson Johnston.
1910-11 Worthington Chauncey Ford, then Editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
1912 Charles Henry Gould.
1912-13 Clark Sutherland Northup, Professor of English in Cornell University.
1913-14 Byron Alfred Finney, then Reference Librarian of the University of Michigan.
1914-16 William John James, then Librarian of Wesleyan University.
1916-18 Clarence Saunders Brigham, then Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.
1918-21 James Christian Meinich Hanson.
1921-23 Victor Hugo Paltsits.
1923-26 Charles Martel.
1926-28 Theodore Wesley Koch, Librarian of Northwestern University.
1928-29 James Christian Meinich Hanson.
1929-33 Phineas Lawrence Windsor, Librarian and Director of the Library School of the University of Illinois.
1933-35 Leonard Leopold Mackall.
1935-36 Earl Gregg Swem.

1936-37 Margaret Bingham Stillwell, Curator and Librarian of the Annmary Brown Memorial.

1937-38 Randolph Greenfield Adams.

1939 Henry Raup Wagner.

1940 William Alexander Jackson, Assistant Librarian in Charge of the Treasure Room and Associate Professor of Bibliography, Harvard University.

Secretaries

1904-06 Charles Alexander Nelson, then Reference Librarian of Columbia University.

1906-09 William Dawson Johnston.

1909-12 Aksel Gustav Salomon Josephson.

1912-14 Adolf Carl von Noé, then Professor of German Literature in the University of Chicago.

1914 Willard Otis Waters, then In Charge of the American History Section in the Catalogue Division of the Library of Congress.

1914-19 Henry Ormal Severance, then Librarian of the University of Missouri.

1919-33 Augustus Hunt Shearer.

1933-40 Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Librarian and John Hay Professor of Bibliography, Brown University.

Permanent Secretaries

1938-39 Robert William Glenroie Vail.

1940- George Leslie McKay, Curator of The Grolier Club, New York.

Treasurers

1904-13 Carl Bismarck Roden.

1913-36 Frederick Winthrop Faxon, bibliographer, publisher and bookseller, Boston, Mass.

1936-37 Mary E. Bates, Secretary to Mr. Faxon, Acting Treasurer after Mr. Faxon's death.

1937- Charles Eliot Goodspeed, author and bookseller, Boston.

Librarians

1904-09	Wilberforce Eames.
1909-12	William Newnham Chattin Carlton, then Librarian of the Newberry Library.
1912-13	Andrew Keogh.
1913-16	Carl Bismarck Roden.
1916-28	Office lapsed.*
1928-38	Charles Clarence Williamson, Director of Libraries and Dean of the School of Library Service, Columbia University.
1938	Office abolished.

Members of Council appear in the table appended to this article.

Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies

1928-	Harry Miller Lydenberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the A. C. L. S., 1937-.
1928-36	Herman Henry Bernard Meyer, Secretary-Treasurer of the A. C. L. S., 1935-36.
1937-38	Andrew Keogh.
1938-	Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen.

Delegates to the American Documentation Institute

1937-39	James Thayer Gerould, then Librarian of Princeton University.
1940	Eugene B. Power, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.

* The Library, including that of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, consisted of such books as had been presented by authors, editors and publishers, and had been stored in boxes, at the Newberry Library, from 1909 until 1917 when it was deposited with the New York State Library School at Albany, the office of Librarian of the Society having been abolished in 1916 in anticipation of this. A list of the books was published in the Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the School (1924), p. 25-37. After the transfer of the School to Columbia University in 1926, such books as came to the Society were deposited there, Dr. Williamson being considered as Librarian. In December, 1938, the Council resolved "that the Library of the Society be discontinued and that the Council recognize the absorption of the Society's library by the New York State Library in 1926 and authorize the Columbia University School of Library Service to keep as part of its library any of the Society's books which the School had acquired since that date." The office of Librarian of the Society was abolished by amendment of Article 3 of the Constitution at the annual meeting of the Society, June 21, 1939.

Publication Committee

The *Papers*. This Committee either as a whole or in the person of the Chairman or Editor has had fully as great responsibility as the Society's officers and Council in determining the scope and character of the Society's contributions to learning. The chairmen and editors have been:

1904-09	Wilberforce Eames.
1909-19	Carl Bismarck Roden, with Aksel Gustav Salomon Josephson as Editor, 1916-18.
1919-25	George Parker Winship.
1925-36	James Bennett Childs, Chief of the Division of Documents of the Library of Congress.
1936-	Lawrence Counselman Wroth.

The *Bulletin* of the Society was edited by a special committee, of which W. Dawson Johnston was chairman in 1907-08 (vol. 1, nos. 1-4), A. G. S. Josephson in 1909-11 (vol. 1, no. 4-vol. 3), and Adolf C. von Noé in 1912 (vol. 4).

The *News Sheet*, begun in 1926, was issued from the office of Augustus H. Shearer, first as Secretary of the Society and then as President, until 1936; in 1937-38 (nos. 43-48) Henry B. Van Hoesen acted as editor; subsequent issues have been the work of the Permanent Secretary.

The various special publications, each with its own editor, are listed below.

Membership

The scope and activities of a society are obviously closely related to its membership, and as one varies so does the other. The Bibliographical Society of Chicago in its first year gained a membership of 99 (78 Chicago members and 21 non-resident); in 1903, as it was on the verge of becoming a national organization, the total membership increased by nine, but the Chicago member-

ship dropped from 78 to 61. The realization of the national society further increased the total membership (147 in 1905, 202 in 1907, and so on) but further reduced the Chicago membership, to 24; and, now with a total membership of some 600,* the Chicago membership is only a dozen. This loss is significant of the weakness of a national organization in getting and keeping the interest and support of colleagues who cannot or will not follow the conventions from place to place or whose interest in the organization is dissipated with the loss of the personal and social atmosphere of the local club.

A change in the character of the membership is also apparent. Root's paper before the Bibliographical Society of Chicago in 1902 described the likely membership of a national bibliographical society in three groups:

(1) Librarians, "not . . . any large percentage of the members of the American Library Association," but, "In all the great libraries of the country . . . the university and college libraries . . . [and in] public libraries of what I may venture to call the second grade," librarians "who are attracted by the wealth of material at their hand towards investigation and scholarly discussion."

(2) "what I will venture to designate as the student class of America . . . university and college professors, professional bibliographers and private investigators."

(3) "the class which I will designate as the amateurs in bibliography, the collectors and book-hunters."

These classes were not mutually exclusive at the time and are less so today, so that any statement of their relative number in the membership of the Bibliographical Society of America can be no better than approximate and may be open to the accusation of arbitrariness. Classes 2 and 3 are more easily distinguished as professorial and collector. However, even with these qualifications, one may be fairly sure of certain tendencies:

* The membership is now about 840 (September, 1941). — Editor.

(1) The relative increase and later decrease in the librarian class (50 per cent in the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, 1902-03, 60 per cent in the Bibliographical Society of America, 1904-05, and 45 or 50 per cent in recent years, although the actual number has nearly trebled).

(2) The relative decrease in the "student" or professorial class (in the Chicago group, 20 per cent in 1900 and 15 per cent in 1903, in the national society about 10 per cent from 1905 on).

(3) The relative stability in the collector, bibliophile and literary class (about 20 to perhaps 25 per cent).

(4) The development of the institutional membership (one in 1900, four in 1903, nine in 1905, and 160, *i.e.*, more than 25 per cent, in 1940).

On the whole, Root's remarks were prophetic—some 250 or 300 is certainly *not* many of the American Library Association membership of 14,000 and can hardly be considered even a fair representation of "all the great libraries of the country." It is not clear to the writer where Root would have drawn the line between the student class and the amateurs, collectors, etc., but limiting the former to the professional student, generally connected with some institution of learning, the Society seems to have gained only a dozen or so in thirty years and, relatively speaking, to have lost. The third group, made to include the independent collector, bibliophile and literateur, has grown in number proportionately with the growth of the membership as a whole and, what is even more significant, its contributions in the way of bibliographical research have been too substantial to be grouped under Root's designation of "amateur." It is the lack of this type of contribution from institutional members that makes one inclined to deplore, not the large number of institutional members, but the fact that they form so large a portion of the membership —in other words, deplore the fact that the individual membership is not much larger. It is surprising that there are not 600 instead

of 150 institutional library members and at least double that number of individual librarian members.

The Bibliographical Society of America can hardly launch a general campaign for members, since it is a learned society with admission to membership not automatic on payment of dues but subject to the approval of the Society's Council. However, inferences from the observations above and from the 50 per cent increase in membership during the past five years lead to the expectation of further growth of the Society through closer contact with the members of other learned societies of the American Council of Learned Societies, more contacts with collectors and independent scholars, and growing interest of librarians and professional scholars interested in practical and subject bibliographies as chronicled in the *News Sheet*.

The great advantages of a local chapter organization over a national is its ability to hold together these three groups of members with diverse interests even in the field of bibliography, by virtue of the personal interest which local colleagues maintain in each other's work and by means of more frequent meetings with greater opportunity for discussion of diverse topics. However, the Chicago chapter, though it had thriven as an independent Bibliographical Society of Chicago, seems to have languished gradually into inactivity and, in 1912, dissolution, and there has been no serious attempt to organize other chapters, although other learned societies, notably the Archaeological Institute of America, have done this very successfully. Neither has there been an attempt at the sort of affiliation of state and local societies in which the American Library Association has been fairly successful. Further, in hopeful speculating as to the future membership of the Bibliographical Society of America, it seems most likely that, with the growing interest in bibliography and book collecting, the growth of independent local societies and book clubs and the increase in the membership of the national society will go along together and react upon each other.

Activities

This sketch of the history of the organization and its personnel is consistent with the history of its activities. The objects of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago as formulated by Josephson's committee had been (By-Law II): "To encourage and promote bibliographical study and research. -2. To compile and publish special bibliographies. -3. To arouse interest in the history of books and libraries." As to what should be understood by the word *bibliographical*, Josephson said in his "Introductory Remarks" at the organization meeting: "Our work should cover the whole range of the history of the book—printing, illustration and binding, publishing and bookselling, history and management of libraries, and last, but not least, bibliography proper, the registry of printed books and the recording of their contents." Again in a paper before the Society in 1902 on *Some Bibliographical Desiderata and the Ways and Means to Carry Them Out*, he said, "The function of bibliography, I take it, is the recording, classification, and evaluation of printed literature."

In the same year, in a paper on *The Scope of an American Bibliographical Society*, Azariah S. Root, a future president of the Society, quoted from the *New English Dictionary* the two variant definitions of *Bibliography* ("the description and history of books" etc., and the "list of books") and said "it seems to me certain that a national bibliographical society can only hope to succeed by taking . . . for its field the broadest possible idea of bibliography." This advice, to the end of bringing together three groups—"librarians," the "student class of America," and "the amateurs in bibliography, the collectors and book-hunters"—was probably wise and was certainly prophetic. Dr. Root himself preferred the first definition, leaving the preparation of "guides for readers" to the "long-contemplated Bibliography Section of the American Library Association," but this section of the American Library Association was never organized, and if it had been, one

may well doubt whether the Bibliographical Society of America would ever have obtained the membership support it now has.

The Constitution of the Bibliographical Society of America—in 1904 as now—stated the Society's object as "to promote bibliographical research and to issue bibliographical publications," still without attempt at definition of terms. The word *Bibliography* is, therefore, still as moot a term as, say, *Library Science*. The two definitions quoted by Root still remain two definitions uncombined and unreconciled except that the division of opinion nowadays is not squarely between the historical (description and history) and the enumerative (lists of books). The historical school will approve of lists which constitute the registry or record of the books' existence, particularly if the books are rare or historically significant, while the enumerative school would include the recording of books by subject and critical scholarly selective subject-lists, but both schools will share Root's hesitation to include in the scope of the Society the ephemeral "popular aids," the ordinary routine "lists of references," etc., and both occasionally accept, presumably for the sake of interesting presentation, a sort of literary history or "book-talk" that is not strictly bibliography under either definition.

The varying inclusiveness and exclusiveness of these various points of view appear from a glance through the volumes of *Papers* and the list of projects undertaken or sponsored by the Society.

The papers published in the *Year-Book* and special publications of the Bibliographical Society of Chicago were for the most part in the practical, enumerative field, both general—like *Bibliographies of Bibliographies, General and National Bibliographies, Indexing of Bibliographical Periodicals*—and in special subjects, e. g. statements of bibliographical accomplishments, methods and needs in History, English Literature, Physics, History of Philosophy, Mathematics, *Italian Communal History*, Oliver Cromwell, *Travels in Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, etc.

Papers such as *On Some American Bookmakers, The Beginnings of the Book* and one or two others, with the record of a complaint that there were not more such, indicate the other direction of the Society's interests.

The Bibliographical Society of Chicago further discussed various projects which, like their papers, deserve mention here as indications of what was to follow in the next forty years: English Books before 1640 in Chicago Libraries; Incunabula in Chicago Libraries (John Thomson, of the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, was compiling a list of incunabula in the United States); Privately Printed Books in the United States; First Editions of American Authors; Serials.

The Bibliographical Society of America, in the main, inherited from the Bibliographical Society of Chicago its membership, its Constitution, its projects, and the same variety of papers, but gradually there developed a trend away from the "practical" enumerative subject list, never decisive but nevertheless significant.

The discussion at the meetings in 1904 emphasized the activities, in the field of subject bibliography, of the Carnegie Institution (American history and *Index Medicus*), the American Library Association Publishing Board (guides to reading, etc.), the American Historical Association, etc. Projects discussed were: A bibliographical institute, a bibliographical periodical, indexing of bibliographical periodicals, a list of bibliographical periodicals, a list of incunabula in American libraries, the continuation of Sabin, a bibliographical handbook, a new list of special collections in American libraries. The papers published in the first volume of *Proceedings and Papers*, 1904-1907, were concerned with subject bibliography, *The Need of Bibliographies in Literary History, Contributions to the Theory and History of Botanical Bibliography, Material in the Library of Congress for a Study of United States Naval History, European Historians of the Turks in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Bibliographical Activities of Historical Societies, An*

International Catalogue of Current Literature of the Social Sciences, and the bibliography of Economic Science, Commerce, Sociology, Political Science, Municipal Government, Colonial Government, and International Law.

But the same volume also contained Paltsits's *Plea for an Anatomical Method in Bibliography*, *The Bibliography of American Music*, and *The "1546" Edition of Gaddesden's Rosa Angelica*; with reports on the Incunabula and Americana projects, and (new projects) *The Need of a Bibliography of American Colonial Newspapers*, and *Plans for a Union Catalogue of American Colonial Laws*.

The volume for 1907-08 is about evenly divided between early printing in the South and Connecticut bibliography on the one hand and the bibliography of science on the other.

Thereafter subject bibliography very nearly but never quite disappears, as the following list will indicate: Vol. 4 (1909), two papers on the bibliography of economics; Vol. 5 (1910), Modern Philology; Vol. 8 (1914), Social Work; Vol. 10 (1916), Shakespeare, and *Bibliography in Relation to Business and the Affairs of Life*; Vol. 11 (1917), The Literature of the Great War; Vol. 16 (1922), American History Sources and Library Collections; Vol. 17 (1923), Guide to Historical Literature; Vol. 22 (1928), Canadian History, Balearic Islands; Vol. 24 (1930), Medical Literature of Mexico and Central America; Vol. 25 (1931), Russian Expansion to America, English language. This list of subject bibliographies omits those of early books (incunabula and Americana) since the Society's interest in these has been enlisted rather from the historical than from the subject point of view.

Further evidence that subject bibliography was never deliberately excluded from the scope of the Society appears in the attention paid to it in the *Bulletin*, of which four volumes were published in 1908-12. The recording of "Any serious bibliographical work undertaken in America . . . is included in its scope." The list in the first number was arranged under "Manuscripts,"

"Printing," "Bookselling and Collecting," "Americana," and "Miscellaneous" (from "Architecture" to "Whale Fisheries"). After the decision to combine *Bulletin* and *Papers* in one serial, in 1913, "Preference was expressed for subjects of actual practical interest, rather than of purely bibliographic or historic value." However, "practical" should not be taken to imply subject bibliography, for the very next sentence in the Proceedings of the meeting (June 25, 1913) reports "It was voted to recommend, to the Publication Committee, that a series of monographs with preference for bibliographies of American authors be issued on a subscription basis," and, in 1914, it was announced that the Publication Committee "intends to lay emphasis on American bibliography and American printing."

The systematic listing of bibliographies dropped with the end of the *Bulletin* in 1912 (although there is a page or two of Notes in each volume of *Papers*) and has never been fully resumed. The *News Sheet* has, however, carried "Notes and Queries" of this sort and, since 1937, has made a special feature of "Bibliographies in Preparation" (in which it has enjoyed the collaboration of the American Library Association's Bibliography Committee). Published bibliographies are occasionally mentioned or discussed but the tendency has been to leave such listing and reviewing to other agencies—the review section of the *Papers*, of the *Library Quarterly*, of *College and Research Libraries*, and listing in the *Library Journal*, the *Bibliographic Index*, etc.

Equally significant with the published papers, though often less conspicuous, are the topics and projects discussed and encouraged in one way or another, e. g., in addition to those mentioned above: Union List of serials, Bibliography of manuscript codices, Early American literary periodicals, Bibliography of English fiction in the eighteenth century, Bibliography of William Blake, Bibliography of English philology, Record of photostatically reproduced books and manuscripts, Reprint or new edition of the British Museum catalogue of books, Scandinavian-

American bibliography, Bibliography of American statute laws, Rag paper for government publications, Bibliography of American travel, Continuation of the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue, Bibliographical guide to English periodical literature before 1800, Collective catalogue of railroad economics, Sponsorship of the *Library Quarterly*, Support of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and of the *Gesamtkatalog der preussischen Bibliotheken*, Cole's Index to the (British) Bibliographical Society publications, Bibliography of international congresses and conferences, Author catalogue of American books 1801-1866, Bibliography of cathedrals, Library of Congress repository of cards for bibliographies in print or manuscript, Desirability and practicability of publication of selective English translations from the continental European literature of librarianship, Co-operative catalogue of eighteenth-century Americana, Bibliographical instruction in colleges and library schools.

The conspicuous achievements of the Bibliographical Society of America, aside from its part in the general promotion of bibliographical research within its own membership and in cooperation with other learned societies, are its publications: *Papers*, vol. 1-33 (1904-39), with an *Index* to vol. 1-25; *Bulletin*, vol. 1-4 (1907-12); *News Sheet*, no. 1-55 (1926-40); *Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America* (1919, reprinted from *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* of April-December 1918) edited by George Parker Winship; *Index to Bibliographical Papers Published by the Bibliographical Society and the Library Association 1877-1932*, by George Watson Cole, 1933; *Bibliotheca Americana, Dictionary of Books Relating to America from its Discovery to the Present Time, Begun by Joseph Sabin* . . . vol. 20 pt. 3 - vol. 21 pt. 1, edited by Wilberforce Eames and vol. 21 pt. 2 - vol. 29 by R. W. G. Vail, with Dr. Lydenberg as chairman of the "Sabin Committee"; *American Newspapers 1821-1936, a Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, edited by Winifred Gregory, with Dr. Gerould as chairman of the Society's Com-

mittee; *International Congresses, a Union List of their Publications Available in Libraries of the United States and Canada*, edited by Winifred Gregory, 1938, with Dr. Gerould as chairman of the Committee; *Incunabula in American Libraries a Second Census*,* edited by Margaret Bingham Stillwell, with Dr. Wroth as chairman of the "Second Census" Committee.

Complete List of Officers and Councillors

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Gould, Charles Henry	President, 1912-13; 2nd Vice-President, 1912; Councillor, 1913-14 (ex-President)

* Published in November, 1940. — Editor.

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von Noé, Adolf Carl	Secretary, 1912-14
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Waters, Willard Otis	Secretary, 1914
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Windsor, Phineas Lawrence	2nd Vice-President, 1929-33
Winship, George Parker	Vice-President, 1919-20; Councillor, 1916-18; Chairman of Publication Committee, 1919-25
Wroth, Lawrence Counselman	President, 1931-33; Councillor, 1933-36 (ex-President); Chairman of Publication Comittee, 1936-

A CORRECTION

In *The Papers*, Volume 35, Second Quarter 1941, p. 172, it is erroneously stated that the late Augustus H. Shearer became Secretary of our Society in 1912. Dr. Shearer was first elected Secretary at the Society's annual meeting on June 25, 1919.

EDITOR.

	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-2
President	*Lane*	Lane	*Lane*	*Lane*	*Lane*	*Root*	*Johnston*	Johnston	*Gould*	*Keogh*	*Roden*	Roden	*Cole, G. W.*	*Cole*	*Cole*	*Cole*	*Cole*	*Bishop*	*Bishop*	*Root*	*Root*
Vice-President	*Putnam*	Putnam	*Thwaites*	*Thwaites*	*Thwaites*	*Bishop*	*Bishop*	Bishop	*Meyer*	*Haskins, C. H.**	*Hanson*	Hanson	*Jenkins*	*Meyer*	*Meyer*	*Winship*	*Bishop*	*Meyer*	*Hubbard*	*Lydenberg*	*Lydenb*
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Secretary	*Nelson*	Nelson	*Johnston*	*Johnston*	*Johnston*	*Josephson*	*Josephson*	Josephson	*von Noé*	*von Noé*	*Waters*-Severance*	Severance	*Severance*	*Severance*	*Severance*	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	*Shearer*
Treasurer	*Roden*	Roden	*Roden*	*Roden*	*Roden*	*Roden*	*Roden*	Roden	*Roden*	*Faxon*	Faxon	Faxon	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*
Librarian	*Eames*	Eames	*Eames*	*Eames*	*Eames*	*Eames*-Carlton*	*Carlton*	Carlton	*Keogh*	*Roden*	Roden	Roden									
Editor													Josephson	Josephson							
Permanent Secretary																					
Councillor (Ex-Pres.)	*Josephson*	Josephson	Josephson	Josephson	Josephson	Lane	Root	Root	Johnston	Gould	Keogh	Keogh	Roden	Roden	Roden	Roden	Roden	Cole	Cole	Cole*	Cole
Councillors	*Harris*	Harris																			
	Legler	Legler	Legler																		
	Thomson	Thomson	Thomson	Thomson																	
	Bain	Bain	Bain	Bain*	*Hanson*																
			Nelson	Nelson	Nelson	Nelson															
				Cole, T. L.	Cole	Cole	Cole														
					Thomson	Thomson	Thomson	Thomson													
						Hanson	*Koch*	Hanson	Hanson												
								Koch	Koch	Koch											
								Cole	Cole	Cole	Cole										
									Josephson	Josephson	Josephson	Josephson									
										Brigham, J.	Brigham, J.	Brigham, J.									
											Livingston **		*Winship*	Winship							
												Cole	*Martel*	Martel	Martel	*Plimpton*	Richardson	Josephson	Ford	Plimpton	Richard
													Stephens	Stephens	Stephens*	Richardson	Josephson	Ford	Plimpton	Richardson	Josephs
														Richardson	*Josephson*	*Ford*	*Plimpton*	*Richardson*	*Josephson*	*Josephson*	Hanson
																				Hanson	*Plimpto*
(Note: Italic shows record of election)	Papers 1:25 Printed Ballot		Papers 1:111, 116	ALA Bull. 1:294 *d.May1908	Papers 3:11	Bull. 1:54 *Resigned July 1909	Bull. 2:38	Bull. 4:36 *Resigned Jan. 1912	Bull. 4:34	Papers 7:126 *Papers, 7, and Bull. 4:34, read C. *S.* Haskins	Papers 8:97 *Resigned (Letter from Mr. Waters) **d. Dec. 1914		Papers 10:168	Papers 11:141	Papers 12:134 * d. 1919	Papers 13:152	Papers 14:39	Papers 15:51	Papers 16:65	Papers 17:71 *Instead of Bishop	Papers 18:64

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1940	1941	
	Root	*Meyer*	Meyer	*Meyer*	*Lydenberg*	Lydenberg	*Wroth*	*Wroth*	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	*Shearer**	*Mackall**	*Swem*	*Paltsits*	*Adams*	*Adams*	President
	Lydenberg	*Martel**	*Martel***	*Lydenberg*	*Hanson*	Hanson	*Hanson*	*Hanson*	*Utley*	*Utley*	*Mackall*	*Swem*	*Vail*	*Vail-Adams*	*Wagner*	*Wagner*	Vice-President
	Martel	*Koch*	Koch	*Hanson*	Windsor*	Windsor	*Windsor*	*Windsor*	*Mackall*	*Mackall*	*Swem*	*Stillwell*	*Adams*	*Adams-Wagner*	*Jackson*	*Jackson*	2nd Vice-President
	Shearer	*Shearer*	Shearer	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	Shearer	*Shearer*	*Shearer*	*Van Hoesen*	*Van Hoesen*	*Van Hoesen*	*Van Hoesen*	*Van Hoesen*	Van Hoesen	*Van Hoesen*	*Vail*	Secretary
	Faxon	*Faxon*	Faxon	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	Faxon	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon*	*Faxon***-*Bates*(acting)	*Goodspeed*	Goodspeed	*Goodspeed*	*Goodspeed*	Treasurer
				Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson	Williamson				Librarian
																	Editor
														Vail	*McKay*	McKay	Permanent Secretary
	Cole				Meyer	Meyer	Lydenberg	Lydenberg	*Wroth*	*Wroth*	Wroth	Shearer		Swem	Paltsits	Paltsits	Councillor (Ex.-Pres.)
	Josephson																
	Hanson	Hanson															
	Koch	*Root*	Root*														
	Richardson	Richardson	Richardson	Richardson													
		Josephson	Josephson	Josephson	Josephson												
			Hanson	*Vance**	Vance	Vance	Vance										
				Keogh	Keogh	Keogh	Keogh	Keogh									
					Richardson	Richardson	Richardson	Richardson	*Richardson*								
						Josephson	Josephson	Josephson	*Josephson*	*Josephson*							
								Meyer	*Meyer*	*Meyer*	Meyer	Lydenberg					
									Lydenberg	*Lydenberg*	Lydenberg	Richardson***	*Childs*	Gerould*-*Wall*			
										Richardson	Richardson	Gerould	Gerould	Shearer	Shearer	Lydenberg	
											Gerould	Meyer****	*Shearer*	Lydenberg	Lydenberg	Wall	
													Lydenberg	*Jackson*	*Wall*	Boyd	
															Boyd	*C. A. Wilson*	Councillors
	Papers 19:78	LJ 51:980	NS 8	NS 11 & 12	NS 16		NS 22	NS 25	NS 30	NS 33	NS 37 & 41	NS 41, 42 & 44	NS 45	NS 49, 50 & 51-52	NS 55	NS 57	
		*Official Stationery	*d.Oct.1927 **Official Stationery	*NS has *Benz* (cf. Archives)	*NS has Williamson. Official Stationery of this year has *Windsor*.						*Resigned May 1936	*d. May 1937 **d. Aug. 1936 ***Resigned ****d. Jan. 1937		*Resigned			

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by Alexander Davidson, Jr., Frederick E. Goff, Gerald D. McDonald, Howard S. Mott, David A. Randall, E. Millicent Sowerby, Lewis M. Stark, and Edwin W. Willoughby.

Incunabula

Michele da Milano. Confessionale generale. Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis, 1493.

Second Census, M491. Copy in DLC, now identified as *GW 6123*. Michele da Milano is an alternate form of the name of Michael de Carcano.

—Frederick R. Goff

English Books, 1475-1800

Cheynell, Francis (1608-1665). The Man of Honour, Described in a Sermon, Preached before the Lords of Parliament, . . . March 26, 1645 . . . London, Printed by J. R. for Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in S. Pauls Church-yard, at the sign of the Brasen-Serpent, 1645.

2 p. l., 67, [1] p. Signatures: A^2, B-I^4, K^2.

Two copies in CSmH.

The Bridgewater copy ends on p. 67 with a line-rule, "finis." in large caps. Page [68] has the Order to print.

The other copy ends, p. 67, without a line-rule, "finis." in smaller caps. Followed by 6 lines of Errata. As the errors also occur in the Bridgewater copy without correction, that is probably the earlier of the two. Order to print on p. [68].

—Herman R. Mead

COLEMAN, Thomas (1598-1647). Hopes Deferred and Dashed, Observed in a Sermon to the Honovrable Hovse of Commons, in Margarets Westminster. Iuly 30, 1645 . . . London, Printed for Christopher Meredith at the Crane in Pauls Church-yard, 1645.

2 p. l., 35 p. Signatures: A^2, B-E^4, F^2.

Two editions in CSmH collate the same, but are easily distinguished as the Bridgewater copy has "MARGARETS VVESTMINSTER" on the t.-p. in caps. The text ends, p. 35, lines 29-30: . . . Their refuge | shall perifh; Their hopes fhall be as the giving up the ghoft. | In the other edition, reset throughout, "Margarets Westminster" is in italics on the t.-p.; and the text ends: . . . Their refuge shall perifh; Their hopes | shall be as the giving up the ghost. |

Mc Alpin has the two editions. —HERMAN R. MEAD

GREAT BRITAIN. PARLIAMENT. Directions of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament . . . for the electing and choosing of Ruling-Elders . . . for the speedy setling of the Presbyteriall-Government . . . London, Printed for John Wright, at the Kings Head in the Old-Baily. August 20. 1645. 4°.

1 p. l., 10 p. Signatures: A^4, B^2.

Since there are four entirely distinct editions of this pamphlet in the Yale Library, it seems likely that more than four editions were printed. The BM *Catalogue* records three editions, with no attempt at differentiation, and the Rylands Library has three editions; the *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection* at Union Theological Seminary records two editions, one of them ("at the signe of the Kings-Head" in imprint) not represented at Yale. From differences in line divisions, spelling, ornaments, and arrangement, the sequence of the four editions at Yale can be established with reasonable certainty.

First edition: title-page has "Presbyteriall," and the Parliamentary order is in italic type; p. 3, penultimate line, reads "Anne Blackefriers."

Second edition: title-page has "Presbiteriall," and the Parliamentary order is in italic type; p. 3, penultimate line, reads "Anne BlackFriers;" p. 6 has "Eight Classis" as in first edition.

Third edition: title-page has "Presbiteriall," and the Parliamentary order is in italic type (but l. c. *t* in "that" and cap *E* in "Electing"); p. 6 has "eight Classis" (with l. c. *e*).

Fourth edition: title-page has "Presbyteriall," but the Parliamentary order is in roman type; "August 20" omitted from the imprint.

The type was completely reset for each of these four editions, except that half-sheet B in the third edition is the same type (save for stop-press changes) as the corresponding part of the second edition. What other editions are identifiable? Can they be fitted into the sequence given above?

—A. T. HAZEN

Americana

Dow, Lorenzo (1777-1834). The opinion of Dow; or, Lorenzo's thoughts, on different religious subjects, in an address to the people of New-England . . . *Windham: Printed by J. Byrne.* 1804.

Sabin 20757 note.

The book is signed (p. 164) "Lorenzo Dow, F. M. K. At the house of my Papa and Mamma, in Cumberland County, Virginia, April 12, 1804."

This is a puzzling reference without the allusion in Dow's Journal (*Quintessence of Lorenzo's Works . . . Second edition . . .* Phila., 1815, p. 189): "at John Hobson, junior's, whom I called my Papa and his wife my Mama."

—John Cook Wyllie

A Journey to Philadelphia: Or, Memoirs of Charles Coleman Saunders. An Original Tale. By Adelio. To which is added, An Interesting Narrative. *Hartford: Printed by Lincoln & Gleason.* 1804. 12mo, pp. 72.

Apparently hitherto unrecorded. It is a rather interesting bit of fiction, with references to Pennsylvania local scenes.

—Clarence S. Brigham

[Le Sage, Alain René] 1668-1747. The comical adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane. *Philadelphia, Printed and sold by William Spotswood,* 1790. 166 p. 15.5cm. *Bowe*

Parsons, *Early Cath. Amer.*, 1939, no. 88, lists this item with no location. Bowe's copy is bound in the original boards, and was doubtless issued separately from a work entitled:

The comical adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane. And The child of nature, a dramatic novel. *Philadelphia, Printed and sold by William Spotswood,* 1790. 166, 68, [4] p. Copies: MWA; BM. *Evans* 22619.

Comparison of the 166 page single work, with the first part of the latter, shows that the pagination, signatures, and setup are the same.

Parsons 88, 142, 158, 473, 650, etc., ascribe to Padre José Francisco Isla various editions of *The adventures of Gil Blas.* Parsons says of the American editions: "Falsely attributed to Le Sage, because of an edition by the latter in French from Isla's MS. . . . First appeared, Valencia, 1783." (cf. *Parsons,* 650; *Sommervogel,* v. 4, 672-80.) Parsons's ascription is made on the authority of Sommervogel, who attributed to Isla the title: *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana, robadas à España, adoptadas en Francia, por M. Le Sage, restituidas à su patria y à su lengua nativa por un español zeloso que no sufre se burlen de su nación,* Madrid, 1787-88, 4 v. (cf. Sommervogel, *Dictionnaire,* col. 69.)

Most recent works disprove P. Isla's authorship and attribute *Gil Blas* to Le Sage. It is generally agreed that the novel was written in French by Le Sage;

published little by little from 1715 to 1735; translated into almost all languages; is so Spanish in form, characters, customs, and episodes, that for a time it was thought, at least in Spain, that it was translated into French from some lost Spanish original; Father Isla, translator and critic of the novel, claimed that a Spanish original had existed, that Le Sage put it into French, pretending he was the author; the Spanish critic Gómez de Baquero refutes Padre Isla, and proves that "la primera materia del *Gil Blas* es española y del siglo XVII; pero la redacción es franceso y muy del siglo XVIII." (cf. especially *Enciclopedia universal.*) A comparison of the French *Gil Blas* with the Spanish translation by Isla, shows that the Spanish follows the French closely. A comparison of a New York, 1820 ed. in 3 vols. in English in NN, with the French and Spanish, shows that the American ed., attributed to Padre Isla, is a close rendition, and that there is nothing to prove that it came from the Spanish.

—Forrest B. Bowe

[Prince, Oliver Hillhouse (1787-1837)]. The Ghost of Baron Steuben; | or, | Fredonia in Arms! | Being a Description | of that | Most Bloody Campaign, | Styled the | *Alexandro-Caesaro-Eugenio-Frederico-Bona-* | *partic Campaign out Napoleonized*; | or a | Georgia Training: | . . . N. p., n.d.

Pamphlet; without a title-page; 8 pages, 2 through 8 numbered. Approximate size of leaf (which may not be the original size): 6 3/16 ins. by 3 14/16 ins. The upper portion of the first page is devoted to the title, as above. The text begins with the salutation: "Dear Fugey." Just above the last two lines of text, on page 8, are drawings of military formations, and at the end appears Prince's pseudonym *Timothy Crabshaw.*

At the upper margin of the first page of my copy is written in a so-far unidentified hand: "To Job Greene, Esq."

Professor John Donald Wade mentions this pamphlet (In: *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet. A Study of the Development of Culture in the South.* New York: Macmillan, 1924) and remarks: "Bound together in one volume with '*The Way to Wealth* . . . by Dr. Franklin' (dateless), and *The Cutter, in Five Lectures Upon the Art and Practice of Cutting Friends, Acquaintances and Relations* (date 1808), one copy of *The Militia Company Drill* with some curiously graphic drawings has been seen by the present writer under the title (dateless) *The Ghost of Baron Steuben* . . . The sketch is given here as a letter written to 'dear Fugy' [sic]."

The text of the pamphlet and of the story as it appears in Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes* seem to parallel each other closely, with a few minor differences in punctuation.

Can anyone throw any light on the place, date or circumstances of publication of this pamphlet?

—Howard S. Mott

A Sketch of the life of General Lafayette. Translated from the French by James P. Cobbett. London, 1830. vii, 86 p.

A re-translation of George Ticknor's *Outlines of the principal events in the life of General Lafayette* . . . 1825, made from a French translation, *Histoire du Général de Lafayette, par un citoyen américain; traduite de l'anglais, par M.**** . . . Paris, 1825.

—Elizabeth Steere

Bosworth, Newton (d. 1848). The Accidents of Human Life, with Hints for their Prevention and the Removal of their Consequences. *New York: Samuel Wood*, 1814. 12mo. ix and 247 pp.

The first American printing of Franklin's *Art of Swimming* is generally accepted to have been in J. Frost's *The Art of Swimming* . . . New York: P. W. Gallaudet, 1818. I have found an earlier American appearance in the above.

—Richard S. Wormser

Modern Literature

Beebe, William (1877–). Edge of the Jungle. New York, 1921.

Of this book there were printed 5,000 sets of sheets and an equal number of copies of a frontispiece entitled *Kartabo;* for some unknown reason the frontispieces were cancelled out of the bound copies. A few copies, believed to be advance copies and about four in number, survived with the frontispiece intact.

—Howard S. Mott

Boyd, James (1888–). [Single rule] | Drums | [Single rule] | By | James Boyd | [Printer's ornament] | [Single rule] | Charles Scribner's Sons' | New York · London | 1925 | [Single rule]

As it is accepted that the New York · London imprint designates the first edition of this book, and the dropping of the London marks the second, a closer comparison would appear to indicate two states of the first edition. For the purpose of this comparison the publisher's file copy has been made available to the writer, as well as a number of other copies, some of them presentation. A marked difference is noted in the condition of the type, that in the second edition, New York | 1925, being generally worn and blurred. Specifically, the presence of worn or damaged type at the following points would indicate the second state of the first edition, New York · London | 1925:

Dedication — perfect type. Letter H in Katharine broken in the second state and apparently reset in second edition.

P. 39 *folio* — perfect type in first state, worn in second.

P. 67 *folio* — perfect type in first state, worn in second.

P. 127 *li.* 1 — perfect type in first state, first P in word *reappeared* broken in second state.

P. 154 *li.* 28 — perfect type in first state, letter H in word *his* broken in second state.

P. 318 *folio* — perfect type in first state, worn in second.

P. 357 *folio* — perfect type in first state, letter U in word *future* broken in second.

Three points have been noted that carry thru to the second edition and are therefore of no bibliographical significance. These are — p. 24 li. 27 Mr .[s] — S missing though a fragment remains; p. 97 last line yes yes begins directly below the y in really, preceding line; p. 342 li. 2. tlme for time.

The jackets on the first state and second state volumes appear identical, though none is available to me for the second edition.

Of the first edition 255 sets of sheets were sold to The H. R. Huntting Company to be bound in buckram. These were distributed some time after March 27, 1925, publication date of the Scribner Edition.

Mr. Cadmus of the Scribner Press informs me that according to their records an edition of 2,550 copies was printed March 7, 1925, a second printing of 975 copies was made March 31, and a third of 1,790 copies on April 16. The 255 sets of sheets described above were sent to the H. R. Huntting Company on March 21. The records available to Mr. Cadmus did not indicate changes made in the printing or the stock used. However, the sheets approximate in thickness—first state—.0053 inches, second state—.0050 inches and second edition—.0045 inches.

525 large paper copies, boxed, numbered, illustrated by N. C. Wyeth and signed by the author and artist were published by Scribner in 1928. Numerous changes were made in this edition including deletions and some rewriting.

—Frank Stone

The Quaker Partisans. A Story of the Revolution. By the Author of "The Scout." *Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.*, 1869. 294 p.

The authorship of this anonymous work, *The Quaker Partisans*, is ascribed by *Sabin* 81244 to no less a writer than William Gilmore Simms, obviously on the basis of Simms' novel *The Scout; or, The Black Riders of the Congaree*. For presumably the same reason Oscar Wegelin in his *List of the Separate Writings of William Gilmore Simms* does likewise, as do P. K. Foley and Merle Johnson in their lists of American first editions. Mr. Wegelin, to be sure, does omit this item in his "William Gilmore Simms, A Short Sketch, with a Bibliography" as published serially in the third volume of the *American Book Collector*.

The British Museum, on the other hand, attributes the novel to a Warren Saint John, whose dime novel *The Scout. A Story of Early New England* was published in 1863. Halkett and Laing give the same information, citing this source as their authority.

The novel appears actually to have been written by Edward Hand Williamson. In 1876 the work was re-issued under the title of *Clayton's Rangers; or, The*

Quaker Partisans. A Story of the American Revolution. Ten years later Williamson published *The Scout. A Legend of Old Thornbury Township*, which bears on its title-page Williamson's name, and under it, the significant phrase, "Author of 'Clayton's Rangers,' 'Philip Morton,' etc."

Copyright records indicate that in addition to these novels Williamson was also the author of a number of legal works, as, for instance, a *Handbook of the Law of Protest*, which appeared in 1889. Listed in Philadelphia city directories as a notary and conveyancer, he was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1854. According to the *Philadelphia Ledger* he died on November 12, 1895.

—John Eliot Alden

EARLY AMERICAN BOOKBINDERS

The following communication has been received from our fellow member, Mr. Albert Ehrman of England, temporarily in New York:

Dear Sir: August 27, 1941

I should like to congratulate Miss French on the excellent article on *Early American Bookbinding* and especially on the appendix of binders' names.

Having been engaged, before the war, on a list of British binders from Caxton to the accession of Queen Victoria, 1837, I know the vast amount of research necessary to complete such a list. Unaware of Miss French's work, which burst on me like a bright meteor, I had been collecting names of American binders to link up with my list, and trying to ascertain who had emigrated to this country and carried on his craft here. With her list as help, I hope to complete this shortly.

One important source apparently overlooked by Miss French is the collection of scrap books at the New York Historical Society formed by Mrs. Bella Landauer. I am giving a list of those I have extracted prior to 1820, in most cases guessing the date by the typography and appearance of the labels. I am also adding names contained in the Grolier Club catalogue (*Ornamental Leather Bookbindings executed in America prior to 1850 . . .* 1907), in the McKay lists published in seven issues of the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, and in a list of members of the Association of Master Book Binders of New York published in 1822 (on the assumption that if they belonged to this Association in 1822 they were binding in 1820). None of the names presented here appears in Miss French's appendix.

I trust this small list will be of interest.

Yours truly, ALBERT EHRMAN.

Association of Master Book Binders of New York, 1822

Allender, William N., 26 William Street
Arthur, James, 191 Chatham Street
Beardsly, R., 100 Broad Street
Cheesman, Joseph B., 9 Lombardy Street
Costigan, James, 90 Water Street
Daly, Edward, 156 Chatham Street
Gilley, William B., 92 Broadway
Holmes & Samo, 347 Pearl Street
Ronalds, T. A., 188 Pearl Street

Grolier Club Catalogue

Black, Harry, in Laetitia Court, Philadelphia, 1758
Franklin, Benjamin, Market Street, Philadelphia, 1729
Gaine, Hugh, New York, 1752-1800
Kirby, Peter, 44 Crown Street, New York, late 18th century
Miller, Archibald E., Charleston, S. C., 1818-1827
Olds, Benjamin, Sign of the Bible, etc., Newark, N. J., 1808-1836
Parson, ———, Hudson, N. Y., 1805
Rand, Thomas, Boston, 1671-1672
Reed, John, 17 Water Street, etc., New York, late 18th century
Thomas, Isaiah, Worcester, Mass., 1775-1802
Wier, Edward, 52 Maiden Lane, New York, late 18th century

Landauer Collection (all from labels)

Appleton, William, Portsmouth (N. H.?) cir. 1790
Cooke, Oliver D., Hartford, Conn., 1802
Fitzwhylson & Potter, Richmond, Va., cir. 1800
Gregory, W., Troy (N. Y.?), cir. 1820
Morris, G., 28 Spruce Street (New York?), cir. 1820
Phinney, H. & E., Cooperstown, N. Y., 1807

McKay Lists (all in New York City)

Bryce, John, 30 Smith Street, 1789-1791
Curtis, John, 5 Stone Street, 1787
Davis, Cornelius, 212 Water Street, etc., 1796-1800
Henling, ———, rear 7 Hague Street, 1814
Jansen, J. B., 15 Chatham Street, 1819-1820
Taylor, William, Bancker Street near Walnut Street, 1819
Vanveghten, D., 69 William Street, 1811

Various Sources

Goodwin, George & Sons (label), Hartford, Conn., 1817
Poultney, William, "at the Printing Office [Annapolis?] Maryland," cir. 1765

REVIEWS

FRENCH, HANNAH DUSTIN; ROGERS, JOSEPH W.; and LEHMANN-HAUPT, HELLMUT. *Bookbinding in America. Three Essays. Early American Bookbinding by Hand By Hannah Dustin French of Wellesley College Library; The Rise of American Edition Binding By Joseph W. Rogers of Milwaukee Public Library; On the Rebinding of Old Books By Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt of Columbia University, Editor.* Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1941. xix, [1], 293 pp. Plates. 9½ x 6¼ inches. $7.50.

The art of bookbinding is as old as the book itself. By the time of the invention of printing its fundamental principles as we now know them had already been established. An art whose technique has been basically unchanged through the centuries may soon have the technical aspects of its story exhausted, but one would assume that with such a long and distinguished background a vast library of literature would have been built up about its historical, biographical and artistic phases at least. There are indeed many books and articles on the subject—but certainly far fewer than one would expect. The art which is called the preservative of the art of printing should certainly have brought forth far more in the way of literature than is the case. Even what we do have deals mainly with the artistic phases of binding. The lack of an historical literature exists to the greatest extent in the United States. For this country there has been nothing at all in the way of bookbinding literature until recent days. Back in 1902 The Grolier Club bewailed this total lack of anything on the subject in these words appearing in a catalogue of an exhibition of mosaic bookbindings: "The history of bookbinding in America has received little or no attention, chiefly, probably because of a lack of collected material from which to write it . . . an enthusiastic bibliophile is yet to be found willing to undertake the collection and description of the examples of this one of the American crafts." As might be expected it was The Grolier Club itself which took up its own gauntlet with an exhibition in 1907 of Ornamental Leather Bookbindings Executed in America Prior to 1850, chiefly from the collection of Mr. Beverley Chew. The catalogue of that exhibition compiled by Miss Ruth S. Granniss (with an introduction by Henry W. Kent), is more than a milestone; except for William Loring Andrews's delightful but quite unscientific essay, *Bibliopegy in the United States*, published in 1902, it represents practically the earliest attempt to explore the

history of binding in this country. Distinct additions to the material in that catalogue in subsequent years have been few; the most important have been a paper on *The Bookbinding of John Ratcliff and Edmund Ranger*, read before the American Antiquarian Society in 1928 by Thomas J. Holmes—himself a binder as well as an historian and bibliographer—and a chapter in Lawrence C. Wroth's monumental work—*The Colonial Printer*. The reason for this late start is explainable. Although bookbinding was a busy and important craft in this country through the early decades of the 19th century, with the development of hand casing in cloth and then the advent of mass production by machinery true bookbinding all but passed out of existence—in this country at least. It was not until the late 19th century renaissance in the book arts and not until the rise of that great group of American collectors at that time—William Loring Andrews, Theodore L. De Vinne, Robert Hoe, Brayton Ives and their associates—that the bookbinder came into his own once more.

After these preliminary remarks one can understand how welcome is a new book on bookbinding in the United States. As noted on its title-page this book consists of three separate essays with a very brief foreword by the editor. The first of these, by Miss Hannah Dustin French of the Wellesley College Library, is the thesis which was accepted in 1939 for her master's degree in the Book Arts field at the School of Library Service of Columbia University. The second, by Mr. Joseph W. Rogers of the Milwaukee Public Library, likewise was the thesis which was accepted in 1937 for his master's degree at the Columbia University library school. It has already appeared in abbreviated form in the Gutenberg Yearbook of 1938. The third, by Dr. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Assistant Professor of Book Arts and Consultant in Early Books and Manuscripts at Columbia University, seems to have been written specifically for this volume although it fails to make a homogeneous unit with the others.

Miss French divides her essay on *Early American Bookbinding by Hand* into two periods: *Bookbinding in the Colonial Period, 1636-1783* and *Bookbinding in the Young Republic, 1783-1820*. For each period she discusses Materials, Technique, Decoration and Style of Bindings, and Centers of Activity and Names of Binders. Her work is a distinct contribution to the field and makes interesting reading. She has here collected the pertinent historical material previously found only in widely separated secondary sources. In addition she has examined a number of bindings as a further basis for her story. It is a good book; any quarrel one would have is with Miss French and not the book; she should have continued with her chore

and so made this the definitive history which is still so sorely needed. The work and drudgery necessary to have done so in this case, however, was undoubtedly beyond the scope of a master's essay. She herself says: "The history of American Bookbinding . . . . is challenging in what remains to be told." I hope she will accept the challenge.

Beyond a painstaking study of the available bindings, much might possibly be found from an examination of original records in the older, larger libraries. One has in mind the material in the Harvard Archives. There are several references to the binding of books in the early published records of the College. At a meeting of the Corporation on September 6, 1736, it was:

> Voted, y^t^ m^r^ Treasurer give the Thanks of y^e^ Corporation to y^e^ Rev^nd^ m^r^ Samuel Mather, for his Present of D^r^ Frankius's works to the College Library; and y^t^ y^e^ Treasurer take care to see y^e^ said works handsomly bound, before they are placed in y^e^ Library.

It is quite possible that the Treasurer's records have information about this disbursement, as well as others of a like nature. For the period subsequent to the fire of 1764, one might then possibly find the books themselves in the Library. Similar approaches elsewhere suggest themselves.

The *List of American Binders* which appears as Appendix A to this essay is a valuable compilation. The significance and value of Appendix B, *List of American Bindings*, would seem doubtful, however. It is not a list of books whose binders are known; it seems to represent merely a certain few books which happened to have been examined. There are scores if not hundreds of similar volumes in every Americana collection in the country.

The second essay in this volume, *The Rise of American Edition Binding*, represents original spade work in virgin soil and as such is worthy of that high praise to which such efforts are entitled when well presented. The casing of books is always casing and not bookbinding but this new mechanical craft is today so much more vital in the production of books that it is high time we had some adequate story of its development. Mr. Rogers handles his subject under these headings: 1. Introduction; 2. The Rise of Edition Binding (covering the introduction of cloth and the beginnings of casing); 3. The Mechanization of Bookbinding Processes (with the invention of hand-operated machines, the application of power, and the final process of industrialization); 4. The Manufacture and Decoration of Book Cloth; 5. The Growth of the Industry of Edition Binding. His discussion of those economic forces caused by the rapid increase in book

publishing which brought about first the use of cloth and then the development of machinery is interesting. His illustrations of book cloths and machinery add much to his work.

The final article of the book, *On the Rebinding of Old Books*, by the editor himself, carries such ramified sub-headings as these: What is Wrong with the Current Methods, Suggesting a Remedy, The Evidence of Old Bindings, The Evidence of the Nineteenth Century, The Practical Approach, About Pamphlet Bindings, The Standard Library Binding, Lettering, Materials, On the Care of Old Volumes, Conclusions and Recommendations. He discusses from the point of view of the librarian and collector bookbinding conditions as they seem to him to exist at present from the background of the art as it has developed through the ages. He makes a special plea for returning to the practices of early days by rebinding books according to the spirit of our own times—duly influenced by the book itself, of course—and not slavishly copying the old masters.

But one feels that this particular essay is out of place alongside its predecessors and one is almost driven to the conclusion that it was added to make up a sizable book. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt is too much of a scholar and is too well versed in all the arts of the book not to have presented a great deal of information and made many thought-provoking suggestions to both librarians and collectors, but he seems to have toiled mightily through many pages of rather vague generalities on the "ethics and aesthetics of bookbinding," as he calls it, making mountains out of mole-hills, and belaboring an issue that to a great extent does not exist. An article on modern binding in this country since the days of the Club Bindery and William Matthews (whom he fails to mention) would have fitted so much better into the scheme of the book.

It is a pleasure to note the increased interest that seems to be developing in bookbinding both on the part of the craftsman and the historian. Dr. Lehmann-Haupt might well have emphasized the part which the Gerlachs are playing in this development at his own Columbia University. The present approach is much sounder than during that period which he deprecates when gilt and highly-tooled decoration was emphasized at the expense of a sound technique of binding. It is now recognized that there is rich beauty even in a plain unadorned piece of fine leather placed with real artisanship on a well-bound book. It was Charles Lamb who said, "To be strong-backed and neat-bound is the desideratum of a volume. Magnificence comes after."

Bookbinding in America should be a distinct help to all interested in the art.

Written primarily for the collector, librarian and historian, it should be read as well by the binder, old and new, who is usually far from conversant with the history and development of his craft. The former group can all learn much from it. The collector might even have his eyes opened to the possibilities of binding his own books.

H. V. Bail

Hart, James D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature By James D. Hart.* Oxford University Press. London, New York, Toronto. Cop. 1941. viii, 888 pp. 9⅛ x 6⅛ inches. $5.00.

The latest *Oxford Companion* should receive a warm welcome this fall, particularly in small reference collections and private libraries. The work is principally devoted to "short biographies and bibliographies of American authors, with information regarding their style and subject matter; nearly nine hundred summaries and descriptions of the important American novels, stories, essays, poems, and plays; definitions and historical outlines of literary schools and movements; and information on literary societies, magazines, anthologies, co-operative publications, literary awards, book collectors, printers, and other matters related to writing in America."

As may be inferred from this definition of scope, and from the title itself, the *Companion* is concerned more with the literary output of Americans than with writings about America. And the word *America* is used in the narrow sense to refer to what is now the United States and Canada, and not to the Latin world below the Rio Grande. The work, it would seem, is addressed to the high school and college student and to the general reader, and not particularly to the bibliographer or book collector (although the latter will find here the answers to many of their questions).

As a reference tool devoted primarily to such North American writers and their works, it will be seen that the period to which special attention has been given is that dating from the establishment of the British North American colonies — something over three centuries. It might be expected accordingly that the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, which deals with the writers of Britain and their literary achievements of the past millennium and more, would prove to be a much bulkier work than the American *Companion*. An examination will show, however, that the latter work is only slightly less extensive than the *O. C. E. L.* The *O. C. A. L.* has 888 text pages, two columns to a page, and a maximum of 59 lines to a column; the *O. C. E. L.* has 866 text pages, two columns to a page, and

a maximum of 68 lines to a column. The *O. C. A. L.*, which is printed in slightly larger type, has slightly fewer letters and spaces to the line. By this test it might be concluded that the American field is relatively well covered.

As to works about America by Europeans, Christopher Columbus's "journal, letters and other documents" are merely mentioned in three lines. Waldseemüller and his maps are referred to in a 15-line item devoted to the name, *America*. Twenty-one lines are devoted to Mourt's *Relation*, while the article on Captain John Smith requires more than two columns. Dickens is mentioned on account of his *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, and Thackeray on account of *Henry Esmond* and *The Virginians*. Space is given to Stevenson and Kipling, and Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* and André Siegfried's *America Comes of Age* are discussed. But G. K. Chesterton (author of *What I Saw in America*) and Philip Guedalla (author of *Conquistador*) are not listed.

It is stated in the Preface that the work contains among other things information regarding book collectors and printers. William Byrd, Thomas Prince, Robert Hoe (within the thirteen lines under Richard March Hoe), J. P. Morgan and A. Edward Newton are mentioned as collectors, and the Folger Library, the Huntington Library and the John Carter Brown Library (in the item on Brown University) are mentioned as public collections that have developed out of private ones. But I find no mention of the following, either as collectors or anything else: William Loring Andrews, George Brinley, Beverly Chew, William L. Clements, Samuel G. Drake, Charles W. Frederickson, Marshall C. Lefferts and Henry S. Van Duzer. Nor are there any entries under The Grolier Club or the Bibliographical Society of America.

Stephen Daye, William Bradford, Peter Zenger, Isaiah Thomas, Theodore L. De Vinne, Walter Gilliss, D. B. Updike, Bruce Rogers and the Grabhorns are listed as printers; but there are no entries under Abel Buell, Hugh Gaine or Joel Munsell.

Perhaps it would be unfair to give too searching a scrutiny to the categories mentioned in the last three paragraphs, as these are side lines rather than the compiler's principal subjects. What has been written here, however, has not been done particularly to find fault, but rather to furnish a hint as to what the user may expect to find in fields to which the compiler has given some attention. The great bulk of the *Companion* is of course devoted to the makers of American literature and the works they have produced. My examination has not been minute, but from what I have seen this field has been carefully surveyed and its facts competently recorded. It

will perhaps be interesting to note the space allotted to some of the important figures of American literature. Four columns and eight lines, for instance, are devoted to Walt Whitman. Progressively smaller space is devoted to the following writers in the order in which they are listed: Henry James, Poe, Franklin, Hawthorne, Irving, Clemens, Howells, Emerson, Cooper, Longfellow, Lowell, Melville, Whittier, Jonathan Edwards, Jeffers, O'Neill, Wharton, Jack London, Cotton Mather, Holmes, Gertrude Stein, Thomas Wolfe, Emily Dickinson, Parkman, Frost, T. S. Eliot, Hemingway, Norris, Sandburg, Increase Mather, Crane, Bryant, Dreiser, Lewis, Cather, Faulkner, Motley, Prescott, Mencken and Tarkington.

Mention of the nearly nine hundred summaries and descriptions of important American novels, etc., should give warning to teachers that the *Companion* might be found a labor saving device by those pupils who wish to shirk their required reading.

The *Companion* contains information under such cities and localities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charleston, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, New Orleans, San Francisco, Los Angeles, the South, the Northwest Territory, the Northwest, Mississippi River, etc. The various Pulitzer Prize winners are listed; and articles may be found under such titles as imagism, impressionism, naturalism, realism, regionalism, stream-of-consciousness, tall tale, Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, etc.

One interesting and valuable feature of the work is the Chronological Index (pp. 863-888), in which the literary history of America (dating from 1578) and the social history (dating from 1000) are tabulated in parallel columns. The literary history in this section consists in the titles and publication dates of important books and the birth and death dates of writers. The chronology continues into 1941 in this Index, and throughout the work information concerning events of the present year is included.

Mr. Hart began work on the *Companion* in 1936. It is interesting to know that among those from whom he has had valuable assistance in the preparation of his important and monumental work are his wife, his brother-in-law and sister.

G. L. M.

McMurtrie, Douglas C. *The Gutenberg Documents With translations of the texts into English, based with authority on the compilation by Dr. Karl Schorbach. By Douglas C. McMurtrie* . . . New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. xii, 13-239 pp., [1] leaf. 9⅛ x 6¼ inches. $5.00.

Mr. McMurtrie, the well-known typographer and historian of printing, has the merit of having first edited in English the twenty-eight known Gutenberg documents which Karl Schorbach had published in the German original texts in the Gutenberg-Festschrift of 1900 with additions in the same publication of 1925. But Mr. McMurtrie was not content with the mere translation, his commentary notes and his analysis prove his comprehensive familiarity with the entire subject. As every student of early printing knows the majority of these documents is of financial-legal nature and we learn from them practically nothing of the invention of printing itself. The loans which Gutenberg obtained from the St .Thomas Chapter of Strassburg and later from Fust, which he never repaid, and the legal steps taken against him form an unpleasant chain of unpleasant documents. But they are nearly the only contemporary sources for the history itself as the books attributed to Gutenberg do not give any definite evidence of being products of the master's hand. His name is not even mentioned in any of the books. Is it not curious enough that the most sagacious scholars do not agree as to which books are those of Gutenberg or those of Fust and Schoeffer? Even the so-called Gutenberg Bible is the subject of much controversy. Some of the documents, e.g., the Helmasperger Notarial Instrument, were already published in English with little accuracy. Indeed it was not an easy task to interpret and translate the original texts written in the frequently unclear mediaeval German. This has been admirably achieved by Mr. McMurtrie and his collaborators.

It is a carefully prepared and well-produced work and is as much of an honor to American scholarship as to the genius of the greatest invention in the history of mankind.

Herbert Reichner

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

Volume Thirty-Five Fourth Quarter, 1941

JOHN FISKE–BOOKMAN*

By Lawrence Clark Powell

JOHN Fiske was a bookman during most of his fifty-nine years. The only exceptions are those of his infancy. By the time he was in preparatory school he owned several hundred carefully chosen books. Later he served as Assistant Librarian of Harvard College, in charge of thousands of volumes. He wrote a score of books of his own. At the end of his life he left a private library of 7,500 volumes. He loved books both for their content and their format. His career is one with the books he collected, loved, worked with and created.

In this essay I propose to make a bibliographical excursion through Fiske's life; to note the first evidences of his bibliophily; to report his adventures with books, his collecting habits, his experience as librarian, the use he made of libraries in the writing of his own works; and finally to examine the collection which he formed during fifty years of collecting, and which since 1926 has been a part of the Library of the University of California at Los Angeles. About Fiske as historian and philosopher I shall have little to say; about him as bibliophile, much.

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 23, 1941.

John Fiske was born at Hartford, Connecticut, on March 30, 1842, the only child of Edmund Brewster Green, a Whig newspaperman of Philadelphia Quaker stock, and Mary Fisk Bound of Middletown, Connecticut. Theirs was not a happy marriage. When the lad was only eight years old his father joined the gold rush; en route he stopped off in Panama and founded the *Panama Herald*. There he died of cholera two years later. In the meantime the mother was earning a living by teaching school in New York. From the time he was four years old the boy had lived with his maternal grandparents in Middletown, and when in 1855, three years after her husband's death, his mother married Edwin W. Stoughton of New York, the grandparents bribed the child to take the name of his great-grandfather, John Fisk.[1] The change was legalized by an act of the state legislature. Five years later, in his first year at Harvard, through a clerical error a final "e" was added to his name in the college catalogue. Instead of objecting to the error, John "thought it looked better and more finished."[2] Thenceforth he was "John Fiske."

Books were an essential part of the furnishings in the Middletown home. If there had not been any, doubtless the boy would have introduced them. It took no conditioning to make him a bibliophile; he was born one. No one had to teach him to read; he taught himself. Thereafter his educational progress was almost incredibly precocious.

At seven he was reading Caesar, and had read Rollin, Josephus, and Goldsmith's Greece. Before he was eight he had read the whole of Shakespeare, and a good deal of Milton, Bunyan and Pope. He began Greek at nine. By eleven he had read Gibbon, Robertson and Prescott, and most of Froissart, and at the same time wrote from memory a chronological table from B.C. 1000 to A.D. 1820, filling a quarto blank book of 60 pages. During the

[1] *Letters of John Fiske, edited by his Daughter, Ethel F. Fisk.* New York, Macmillan, 1940, p. 7.

[2] *Letters*, 50.

next two years he read the whole of Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, Sallust, and Suetonius, and much of Livy, Cicero, Ovid, Catullus and Juvenal. At the same time he had gone through Euclid, plane and spherical trigonometry, surveying and navigation, and analytic geometry, and was well on into differential calculus. At fifteen he could read Plato and Herodotus at sight, and was beginning German. Within the next year he was keeping his diary in Spanish, and was reading French, Italian and Portuguese. He began Hebrew at seventeen and took up Sanskrit the following year.[3]

This remarkable passion for acquiring knowledge was accompanied by an equally ardent desire to own books. These came by gift and by purchase. He sold a pair of skates in order to buy a copy of Euclid. A note written in his copy of Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* tells how he acquired the volume when he was twelve years old:

> By the beginning of 1854 I had read most of the Collectanea Graeca Majora with the aid of Schrevelius' Lexicon in which the meaning of the Greek words was given in Latin. This I found very inconvenient and I longed for a good Greek-English dictionary; but my grandmother thought five dollars a great sum for so unpractical a luxury as Greek. I then began to earn money. Among other things I learned that an Irishman, named Hennessey, would buy old bones at 37 cents a barrel. I picked up bones here and there until I had got five barrels which brought me $1.85. In other ways I raised my fund till it amounted to $3.40, when my grandmother, seeing my determination, suddenly furnished the remainder of the $5.00 and in June 1854 I became the jubilant possessor of this noble dictionary, which I have ever prized most highly, as I count the knowledge of Greek one of my most spiritual possessions.

When he was thirteen Fiske entered Betts's Academy in Stamford. There he found that his own library of 116 volumes was larger than that of the Academy! Books were more important to him than clothes: "If you will bring me Anthon's Xenophon's Anabasis $1.25," he wrote to his mother, "I will value it more

[3] Edwin D. Mead. *John Fiske, a Sketch of his Life and Work.* In: *Christian Register*, LXV, April 15, 1886, 228-29.

than the broadcloth suit."[4] He developed early an appreciation of bindings. When writing home for books to be sent to him, in addition to giving the titles, he would describe the volumes as "bound in black cloth with morocco back," "in blue muslin," "in yellow leather," "in green muslin, with red morocco back."[5] In 1858 on a visit to the Yale library he was moved to ecstasy by an edition of the Latin classics "bound in rich red Turkey morocco and loaded with gilt."

His unorthodox philosophy was revealed early in his choice of books. By the time he was eighteen and ready to enter Harvard he had given up going to the Middletown Congregational Church. Thereupon the minister came to see his grandmother, to get some light on the cause of his "backsliding." The grandmother stoutly declared that the boy could not be an infidel, and for proof took the minister in to see John's library. In a letter to his mother the youth told what happened: "There Taylor found, side by side with books of sound orthodoxy, many ancient classics and the works of Humboldt, Voltaire, Lewes, Fichte, Schlegel, Buckle, Cuvier, La Place, Milne, Edwards, De Quincey, Theodore Parker, Strauss, Comte, Grote, Gibbon, and John Stuart Mill. Grandma asked him what he thought of them, but his only response was to shake his head."[6]

By the time Fiske entered Harvard as a sophomore in 1860, his library numbered 266 volumes. When one of the older students called on Fiske to see his books he wrote to his mother: "I never was more struck with the character of my library than when, after looking awhile in silence, McCarthy exclaimed: 'You're hell-bound I see!' I laughed like thunder; the upshot was that I went to walk with him and on our return went in and took a look at his books. By that time I knew about what he was. He has Carlyle, Emerson, Grote and Demosthenes—that is

[4] *Letters*, 5.
[5] *Ibid*, 9.
[6] *Letters*, 31.

pretty much all his library. . . . He is very poor and cooks his meals on a portable stove, cost $1.25. His housekeeping costs only $2.00 per week. . . . A good way to live I think. I have a mind to try it, and if I like it to stick to it and save $104 a year for books."[7]

Fiske soon became a bookshop and library frequenter. While browsing in Ticknor and Fields's Old Corner Book Store he came upon the original prospectus of Herbert Spencer's system of philosophy, together with the announcement of that author's plan to issue by subscription a series of his positivist works. The cost was $2.50 per year. His subscription marked one of the most decisive acts of Fiske's life.

In Little, Brown's bookstore he observed a literary curiosity—the complete works of Voltaire in a single volume of 6,000 pages, "a horrid looking book." Letters to his mother contained frequent references to his purchases, with emphasis upon the bargains he had made. Mrs. Stoughton was not entirely in sympathy with her son's bibliomania. Coming upon one of Quaritch's catalogues, he ordered through Sever, the Harvard bookseller of that day, the following titles: Donaldson's Varronianus and his Greek grammar, Wilson's Sanskrit grammar, Bleek's Persian grammar, Stewart's Arabic grammar, Mill's *Logic*, Van Bohlen's *Genesis*, and Sainte Hilaire's *Histoire des Anomalies de l'Organisation.* When the bill came it amounted to $45.00—and his mother gave him a severe chiding for what she thought was a wholly needless purchase. Fiske patiently and dutifully pointed out how essential the books were to the lines of thought he was pursuing and the help they would be in giving him enlarged views in his college studies. But for months afterwards he practiced little economies, in order that "money might be saved towards that dreadful book-bill."

With his best friend and room-mate, George Litch Roberts (1836-1929), he visited the public and private libraries of Bos-

[7] *Letters*, 41.

ton and Cambridge. From the venerable George Ticknor, Fiske received permission, "since I was an earnest scholar," to come to his library whenever he chose and borrow any book. Nor did he neglect the treasures of the College library. "I went into the Harvard Library the other day," he wrote, "and there was a whole alcove full of Asiatic books: Sanskrit, Persian, Prakrit, Arabic, Turkish, and all sorts . . . and so many other books that I was driven nearly wild by the sight of them. . . . Dr. Sibley, the genial old librarian, is very obliging—gave me the key to the case where these books were and let me overhaul them."[8]

It was natural that a lad of eighteen as precocious and learned as Fiske would be set somewhat apart from his fellows. He complained that hard study was considered disgraceful and that the normal course was to do just enough to get by. Even at Betts's Academy Fiske had been distinguished by his reluctance to take the usual morning and afternoon recesses for exercise; and when his tutor insisted that he stop studying and go out on the playground with his fellows, the boy would don his overcoat and stand out of the wind in a sheltered spot.[9] His being different, however, gave Fiske no concern; in fact it pleased and amused him, as revealed in this excerpt from a letter written during his first year at Harvard:

> The other day when reading over his Whateley's Rhetoric, a fellow called out to me, "Fiske, what the devil is an enthymeme?" "Why," said I, "it is a syllogism with the major premise suppressed." "Well what in hell is a syllogism?" was the hyperastonished reply. Great Zeus I thought I should split. There's a specimen of Harvard scholarship! One of the fellows again exclaimed, "Fiske I don't see what the deuce you ever came to college for, you must have been through the whole course before you came." At Harvard a good recitation is called a "squirt," and some of the fellows have undertaken to call me Squirty. . . . Vague rumors are circulating to the effect that I can speak 17, 25 or 40 languages, while others swear that I know all about medicine and have "even read such stuff for the fun of it." Nevertheless they all seem to like me tolerably well.[10]

[8] *Letters*, 41-2.

[9] F. W. Osborne. *John Fiske as a School Boy*. In: *Education*, Dec. 1901, 206-08.

[10] *Letters*, 55.

Fiske had a normal capacity of reverence for his superiors. For example, after a visit to Emerson, he wrote to his mother: "I have never before seen a man whose works had made him immortal, and I listened to him as to an oracle. I thought him the greatest man I ever saw. . . . Of all the men I ever saw, none can be compared with him for depth, for scholarship, and for attractiveness."[11]

Harvard in the early 1860's was reacting strenuously to the Darwinian heresy. The authorities were on the side of orthodoxy, and Fiske earned himself a public admonishment for reading Comte during Sunday service in Christ Church. The anti-Darwinians, led by President Felton, urged a more severe punishment, while Professors Gurney and Peabody defended the sinner. The outraged President wrote to Fiske's mother: "We never attempt to control the religious opinions of young men. But I consider it a great and lamentable misfortune to a young man, when, in the conceit of superior wisdom, he openly avows himself an infidel." And he added that "Any attempt to spread the mischievous opinions which he fancies he has established in his own mind" will require his removal.[12]

Fiske's reaction to this state of affairs was not that of Shelley at Oxford; he did not pen a pamphlet on the necessity for atheism. Instead he busied himself with his private studies, collected books, and enjoyed his friends. When at graduation he inscribed his autobiography in the class album, no bitterness is evident; it is typically good-natured, as the last paragraph shows:

My life has been fraught with romantic adventure, never exceeded in strangeness by any novel, but I am not at liberty to recount my adventures. Should it ever become desirable, full information may be obtained from copious autobiographical matter in my own possession. I have the unfailing hereditary mark of the Fisk family — a crooked little finger. I have a marked fondness for the study

[11] *Ibid.*, 52.

[12] S. E. Morison. *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 308.

of Philology, which is likely to be my life study. My plans of life are soon told — they are to write books, supporting myself by teaching.[13]

There is today in the Fiske library an album of photographs of the Class of 1863, including the officers of government and instruction. Some bear contemporary autographs and dates of birth, and under many, Fiske, some years after graduation, wrote their names, home-towns, comments, and dates of death. His own picture shows a serious freckle-faced youth, wearing oval steel-rimmed spectacles, his broad forehead framed by an aureole of bushy, curly hair, and balanced by a full lower lip — the face of a lover of good things to eat and to drink, as well as of knowledge.

It was not until six years after graduation that Fiske published his first book, although he did distinguish himself as a writer while an undergraduate. In the course of his associate editorship of the *Harvard Magazine*, during his senior year, he contributed such articles as *Ye Vital Principle*, *A Very Old Tale*, *Diatribe on Archbishop Whateley*, *The Life and Teachings of Gotama Buddha* and *Colonial Rights, Ancient and Modern*.[14] He also wrote the class supper ode. His most remarkable accomplishments, however, were two scholarly essays written and published during his first and last years. The first was a review of Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, 1857-1861, called *Fallacies of Buckle's History*, which appeared in the *National Quarterly Review* for December, 1861. The other was a philological review of three books, by Müller, Renan and Spencer, called *The Evolution of Language*; this appeared in the *North American Review* for October, 1863. Only last winter, seventy-eight years later, copies of these two essays, bound and interleaved with manuscript corrections by Fiske, and bearing the autograph of his friend, George L. Rob-

[13] Harvard University Archives. I am indebted to William A. Jackson for enabling me to secure this and other material from the archives. Fiske's reminiscences of Harvard are found in his "Oration" in *Cambridge Fifty Years a City*, 1897, 41-44.

[14] The contributions are anonymous; in his copy Fiske signed those which he wrote. Vol. IX, 1862-63.

erts, came on the market and were added to the Fiske collection in Los Angeles.

Upon graduation Fiske was unable to secure a tutorship at Harvard, or even a teaching position in a high school. His avowed agnosticism had made him suspect in the quarters where such appointments originated. All through his college course his mother, and step-father, who was one of the leading patent lawyers of New York, had urged him to the study and practice of law. Now he was inclined to take their advice. Accordingly he entered Harvard Law School, and in the summer of 1864 was admitted to the Boston bar.

He duly hung out his shingle, but his heart was never in it. The whole tenor of his thought was centering around the evolutionary philosophy. The two articles which he had published had attracted wide and favorable attention. Within a year he reluctantly disappointed his parents and abandoned law for free-lance writing and reviewing. He was now married and blessed with a daughter. A few years later, when their first boy was born, Fiske's preoccupation was reminiscent of Mozart's, who had composed one of his most heavenly string quartets while in the next room his wife was laboriously giving birth to a child. Fiske wrote to his mother: "Our little boy was born at 10 o'clock. He roars and kicks tremendously, and seems to be in every way healthy and vigorous. I was reading Büchner when the youngster arrived; but you see I didn't expect him to come before the middle of the afternoon."[15]

Fiske's first book was a piece of polemical criticism, which today is almost forgotten. In 1868 the noted biographer, James Parton, who was a crank on diet, smoking and drinking, published a temperance tract entitled *Smoking and Drinking*.[16] Fiske was commissioned to write a review of it for the *New York World*. In a subsequent gust of enthusiasm he expanded this into a 162-

[15] *Letters*, 162.

[16] Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1868.

page book called *Tobacco and Alcohol*. I. *It Does Pay to Smoke*. II. *The Coming Man Will Drink Wine*.[17] Fiske had given much attention to the effect of narcotics upon the human body, and he thought the great importance of temperance could be more convincingly shown through a popular scientific presentation of the laws of physiological action in regard to the two narcotics, than through the heated assertions of ignorant social reformers. Accordingly he trained the big guns of scholarship on Parton's little book, and so completely blasted it that no rejoinder was attempted. This was a bit of a disappointment to Fiske, for, as he wrote to his mother, "I should have enjoyed nothing better than the job of sitting down and demolishing any answer which he might have written. In the language of the poet I might have warned him, 'Don't you believe there's no more fat. Lot's in the kitchen, as good as that.'"[18]

Fiske's book was a complete success; it sold several thousand copies and elicited many tributes from the medical profession. Although at the time Fiske was gratified by his victory over Parton, twenty years later he refused to allow Harper to reprint the book.

These were some of the prime years of Fiske's life. "I live in my library, walled with books, like a mollusc in his shell," he wrote to Herbert Spencer, "writing six hours, reading six, and sleeping nine, all days except Sunday; always well, and hardly ever more than pleasantly weary; and have reason, therefore, to believe that I am seeing my best days."[19]

Harvard meanwhile had trimmed its sails to the new winds of science. Under the newly appointed President, Charles W. Eliot, a series of public lectures on philosophy was inaugurated. Emerson was the first lecturer. Then Fiske, who only eight years before had been threatened with dismissal if caught talking Comte-

[17] New York, Leypoldt & Holt, 1869.

[18] *Letters*, 182-3.

[19] *Ibid.*, 176.

ism with anyone, was invited to expound Comteism to the College. From 1869 to 1872 he served as Lecturer in Philosophy, then as Acting Professor of History. Though championed by Eliot, there was bitter opposition to Fiske from the reactionary members of the Board of Overseers. He was never able to secure an appointment as regular professor of history. The blame for this has been laid entirely to Fiske's advanced ideas. Another interpretation is advanced by Professor S. E. Morison, in a recent letter to the present writer, to the effect that what were said to be Fiske's unpunctual habits, irregular hours, and fondness for bohemian ways, unfitted him in the eyes of the administration for an appointment which demanded first of all regular and conforming habits. This information came to Professor Morison from Ellery Channing (1818-1901), who maintained that it was the reason why Fiske never obtained from Harvard a teaching position commensurate with his ability as a philosopher and historian. According to W. R. Thayer, Fiske's relations with Harvard always remained desultory because he did not have the temperament to work ploddingly, nor to observe the fixed hours for exercises that have to be observed in an institution whose primary object is teaching.[20] In short, we may conclude that John Fiske was simply not the collegiate type as it existed in the latter part of the nineteenth cenury. He was more what someone has called Balzac, "a force of nature."

As a sort of consolation prize Fiske was given the position of Assistant Librarian, which had been left vacant by the resignation of Ezra Abbot. The idea was given to President Eliot by Fiske's staunch friend, Professor Gurney. It was hoped thus to pave the way for his advancement to a professorship. In May, 1872, Fiske received the library appointment at a salary of $2,500; the action was concurred in by the Board of Overseers, with one dissenting voice.

[20] *Sketch of John Fiske's Life.* In: *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, X, 33-38.

The Head Librarian, John Langdon Sibley, who had been cordial to Fiske as an undergraduate, was feeling the weight of his sixty-eight years, and the position of Assistant Librarian was virtually equal to that of Acting Librarian. Fiske held the post for six years. It was not the sinecure most writers on Fiske have called it. Although George Parker Winship states[21] that the library tradition in his time as a graduate student was that Fiske cleared his desk of all regular official matters on Sunday forenoons, when he could work undisturbed, and for the rest of the week devoted himself to his own studies, the actual evidence does not support the tradition. If Van Wyck Brooks is not altogether justified in stating that Fiske "worked wonders for the library,"[22] it is true that Fiske put his talents unreservedly into the work, and accomplished as much as was possible under the circumstances.

Let us examine the record. In 1872 the Harvard Library numbered 160,000 bound volumes, and was housed in Gore Hall. As Assistant Librarian Fiske was in charge of the technical processes of ordering and cataloguing. In 1861 Ezra Abbot had commenced the first card catalogue, containing author, title and subject entries, and at the time of Fiske's succession the project was still far short of completion. Upon assuming his duties in October, 1872, Fiske evolved plans to hasten the catalogue to a finish. These included hiring an extra corps of clerical workers to augment the present staff of ten girls. Before this could be realized a cruel blow fell. The great Boston fire of November, 1872, cost Harvard over $500,000 of assets. It seemed at first necessary to cut salaries, and Fiske was resigned to losing $500 of his. Although this was avoided, the library was forced to trim $3,000 from its budget. This made it not only impossible to hire more girls, but obliged Fiske to dismiss three of his regulars. "It has been a black day with me," he wrote to his mother, "I don't know what to do. The poor library girls get scanty pay at best,

[21] Letter to present writer, December 14, 1940.

[22] *New England: Indian Summer*, 263.

and have nothing to look to but their meagre salaries. I don't know which ones to cut off; it is quite heartbreaking to think of it. I am all the more anxious to see my new reforms got under way—which will serve the college more than the salaries of two or three girls—and so, as you can imagine, I am very busy."[23]

By the following spring he had made enough progress to win the commendation of President Eliot, who, Fiske wrote to his mother, "spoke to me with enthusiasm about the system which I had introduced into the Library and the quickness with which the work is dispatched. The *quickness* is the result of the *system*. And he told me that so long as I continued to like the place, just so long would he be only too glad to keep me in it. Gurney and 'Stubby' Child say I am doing a great deal more than Ezra Abbot did, and more than is expected of me. All right; it will bear fruit in the long run; Eliot is a man who appreciates that sort of thing."[24]

Then in the summer of 1873 a wealthy woman who had heard Fiske's earlier lectures on philosophy, provided him with money to go to Europe, especially to meet Spencer. Fiske had little hope of being able to secure leave from the library; to his surprise Eliot urged him to take advantage of the opportunity, and at a meeting of the Corporation he was not only given leave of absence, but was unanimously confirmed for life in his place in the library.

In Europe Fiske made a point of visiting libraries. "They are in the dark ages compared with us as to cataloguing," he wrote home, "and the more I see of these things, the more I appreciate the greatness of what Ezra Abbot has done for Harvard Library."[25] His visits included the University and the Advocates libraries in Edinburgh, the University Library at Cambridge, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the National Library in Flor-

[23] *Letters*, 220.
[24] *Ibid.*, 220-1.
[25] *Letters*, 255.

ence. Each successive stop further convinced him that Ezra Abbot was the world's foremost library technician.

Back at Harvard in the fall of 1874 Fiske took up his library work with renewed zest. He added Russian and Finnish to his linguistic accomplishments so that he could catalogue works in those languages. One Sunday, for example, he packed his lunch and worked all day at the library, revising the cataloguing of 416 books and 57 pamphlets. Other days he spent in Boston, buying books for the library. To the *Atlantic Monthly* he contributed an essay called *A Librarian's Work*, which remains to this day a model of lucid exposition of the necessity for minute and accurate bibliographical cataloguing, in order to reveal to scholars the treasures otherwise lost in a library the size of Harvard's. The essay was intended as an answer to those who were in the habit of congratulating Fiske on his "sinecure office."[26]

In the summer of 1876, when Gore Hall was undergoing extensive alterations and additions, Fiske was faced with the problem of shifting thousands of volumes without interrupting service. Whereas old Sibley was the acquisitive watch-dog type of librarian, Fiske was primarily interested in seeing that the books in his custody were made available for use with the least possible delay. In this instance his concern was that the faculty should not be disturbed by the removal. From President Eliot he secured plenary power to carry out the plan he had devised, and on June 20th he reported,

> The book moving at College Library goes on with beautiful quiet and regularity; it begins to seem so simple that any jackass might have done it. We have carried about 19,500 volumes over to Boylston Hall, and filled all the shelf room there, and have moved some 15,000 within the Library itself, besides shifting the entire stock of nearly 200,000 pamphlets. There has been no disturbance beyond the sound of carpenters' hammers. Books have been taken from and returned to the migrating divisions without perplexity.[27]

[26] *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1876; reprinted in *Darwinism and other Essays*, 1879.

[27] *Letters*, 349. The history of Gore Hall is given in *The Library of Harvard University; descriptive and historical Notes*. 4th ed. Cambridge, 1934, 20-24; also in C. E. Walton. *The Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Harvard College Library*. Cambridge, 1939, 33-44.

Old Sibley was not in favor of these alterations. Because of his advancing infirmities his annual reports during the final years of his tenure were brief, and have never been printed. An ever recurring theme in them is Sibley's strictures on Gore Hall as a library building. In the 19th report, for 1873-1874, his case is eloquently stated:

> Every year's experience in Gore Hall strengthens my conviction of its unsuitableness for a library, that all attempts to make it so are worse than worthless, that all expenditure of money beyond what is absolutely necessary to provide temporarily for accessions is an evil, and that measures should be taken at once for a comfortable fire-proof building, with double walls, to accommodate the hundreds of thousands of volumes which will accumulate in the course of a century, and the millions which will be gathered in two or three centuries; and which, moreover, because of its peculiar excellences, shall tempt persons to prefer this library to any other, as a depository for special collections on which they have expended money, time, and labor, and which have become to them like household gods.[28]

In addition to his work as technical supervisor, Fiske had undertaken to catalogue the outstanding items in the collection of 3,700 volumes bequeathed to the library by the statesman, Charles Sumner, upon his death in 1874. With the aid of two assistants Fiske performed this task. A report upon the result was made recently by Charles K. Bolton, Ex-Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, which stated:

> Mr Fiske's catalogue of the Sumner collection of books, in the Harvard Library, is a test of learning that few librarians are called to meet. It shows his familiarity with early calligraphy, with the art and history of printing, with binding and illustration. It covers also the difficulties involved in cataloguing and annotating rare books, and indirectly proved that Mr Fiske loved the text as well as the dress. The bibliographical notes, by their discrimination, variety and detail, show both erudition and clarity of mind such as we now associate with German scholarship.[29]

Yet in spite of these technical and bibliographical successes, Fiske found himself less and less firmly rooted in the library.

[28] Harvard University Archives. In 1941 the University Library numbered 4,250,000 volumes.

[29] *Letters*, 341.

Although his salary had been raised to $3,000—the same as Sibley's—it was not enough to support his growing family. On a trip to Baltimore, where he received $400 for a two-weeks' course of lectures on philosophy at the Peabody Institute, he visited Johns Hopkins, with the result that he was offered a teaching position there. Fiske did not want to give up residence in Cambridge. In common with many others who have lived thereabouts, he regarded it as the intellectual hub of the world.

Things began to come to a head in the summer of 1877. Fiske had his eye on the chair of Mediaeval History left vacant by Henry Adams's resignation. Then to complicate matters, on July 2nd Sibley resigned. Fiske wrote to his mother of the situation:

> It is intended to put me into the history department at Harvard next summer when the term expires of two young instructors who were appointed for a year on Henry Adams's resignation. Meanwhile Sibley's resignation on July 2 came unexpectedly to everybody; and things being thus it occurred to Eliot that now, just as we are about to remodel things here, would be the nick of time to make a grab for one of the big Boston librarians. So it was voted at once to offer the place, first to Justin Winsor, chief librarian of Boston Public Library, and then to Cutter, chief librarian of the Boston Athenaeum. The whole move affects my present position and salary in no way, it only indicates a different line for the future. It is not very likely that either of these gentlemen will accept and Eliot does not think they will. A rumor has just come in that Winsor will accept. The city of Boston instantly raised Winsor's salary to $4,500; and probably the Athenaeum will do similarly with Cutter. Sibley holds till a successor is appointed.[80]

Winsor, who was Fiske's senior by eleven years, received the appointment. It would seem that he had little subsequent use for Fiske. The younger man is mentioned by name only twice in Winsor's annual reports. In his first report, for 1878, Winsor printed Fiske's synoptical account of the cataloguing performed from 1872 to 1878. In his report for the following year, upon listing the publication of the Sumner catalogue, Winsor gave Fiske no credit for the work, terming it merely as having been "prepared by the joint labors of several members of the library staff." And in the same report Winsor noted the resignation of

[80] *Letters*, 366.

This catalogue of the Sumner Collection, a work involving much laborious research, was entirely made by me, with the assistance of Miss Anne Elizo Hutchins and Miss K. V. Smith, in 1876 and the early part of 1877, before Mr. Winsor came to Harvard College Library. Mr. Winsor had nothing whatever to do with it.

John Fiske.

Library of Harvard University.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

EDITED BY JUSTIN WINSOR,
LIBRARIAN.

No. 6.

THE COLLECTION OF BOOKS AND AUTOGRAPHS

BEQUEATHED TO

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY,

BY THE

HONORABLE CHARLES SUMNER.

Catalogued by John Fiske.

REPUBLISHED FROM THE BULLETIN OF THE LIBRARY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, NUMBERS 7 TO 12.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
UNIVERSITY PRESS: JOHN WILSON AND SON.
1879.

Fiske, which occurred on December 31, 1878, in the rather unusual form of a tribute to his successor.

> By the resignation of Mr. Fiske the immediate charge of the catalogue work passed April 1st into the hands of Mr. Samuel Hubbard Scudder, a gentleman of experience in bibliographical work, from whose care and discernment we may expect much in the elucidation of the present card catalogue.[31]

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Winsor was jealous of Fiske, and was glad to be rid of him. The Sumner catalogue, which was published in 1879 by the University, bore on the title-page the words "Bibliographical Contributions. Edited by Justin Winsor." Fiske's name appeared nowhere in the catalogue. He was angry at having credit for his work usurped in this way. In his copy he wrote on the title-page "Catalogued by John Fiske," and on the opposite blank page,

> This catalogue of the Sumner Collection, a work involving much laborious research, was entirely made by me, with the assistance of Miss Anne Eliza Hutchins and Miss K. V. Smith, in 1876 and the early part of 1877, before Mr. Winsor came to Harvard College Library. Mr. Winsor had nothing whatever to do with it. John Fiske.

As to the events of the autumn of 1878 which precipitated Fiske's resignation, we are mostly in ignorance. On November 12 he wrote to his mother, "I am beginning to feel my usual energy and enthusiasm awakening again and I hope another year will free me from the blasted old Library which has throttled and suffocated my original work for now nearly seven years of my life. I seriously contemplate resigning."[32] This he did, a month and a half later, in a letter which he left at President Eliot's house. The details were included in a letter to his mother, who at that time was in Saint Petersburg where her husband was the Ambassador to Russia. The letter was never received.

John Fiske now stood on the threshold of his great career as the most popular lecturer and writer on American history ever

[31] P. 11.

[32] *Letters*, 375.

known in this country. It was chance that turned him in this direction. His avowed interest was in mediaeval history, and he confessed to "an extreme longing for the place which Adams left vacant."[33] In March, 1879, he opened a course of six lectures on American history at Old South Church in Boston, arranged by another patron. "This affair of American history is not strictly within my line," he confessed. "I took it up to please Mrs. Hemenway."[34] In these fateful six days the pattern of Fiske's remaining twenty-two years of life was unalterably cut. From an evolutionary philosopher, a philologist and a bibliographer, he was changed into an historian. Let him tell it in his own words:

> This was the worst of nasty March days — pelting snow, slush up to your knees, dark as Egypt — a day when ordinarily nothing would have tempted me to leave the house; but the Old South Church was *packed full* of the very cream of Boston, in spite of the weather. I felt every pulse quickened by the fact; and they say I was so eloquent as to seem almost like a new man. The applause was great; I felt the sense of having the people drinking in every word and tone with hushed breath and keen relish. Half unconsciously I deepened and intensified my voice and began to lose myself in the theme with which I was greatly bewitched myself. I had a sort of sense that I was fascinating the people and it was delicious beyond expression. . . . This thing takes the people, you see; they understand and feel it all as they can't when I lecture on abstract things. The fame of it is going about briskly and I believe I shall get full houses all over the country. The Centennial has started it, and I have started in at the right time.[35]

It was not without regret that he entered this new and triumphant epoch of his life. "I only write about [American history] because I can and people ask me to and pay me for it. If I were worth $1,000,000 I should spend the rest of my life in studying early institutions and the growth of European society."[36] Eight months later, however, Fiske wrote, "Youmans says I am absolutely dead sure to sweep all before me after another two years, and haul in money hand over fist."[37]

[33] *Ibid.*, 379.
[34] *Ibid.*, 379.
[35] *Letters*, 378.
[36] *Ibid.*, 379.
[37] *Ibid.*, 427.

This is exactly what happened. We can understand Fiske's choice when we know that he had no income apart from that earned by his lectures and writings, and that dependent upon this money were his wife and their six children. From his wealthy step-father, who was jealous of him, Fiske never received any benefits other than his minimum college expenses.[38] The lecture triumphs also richly compensated Fiske's personality, which had been only meagerly rewarded by his various Harvard experiences.

His knowledge of American history came out of his library years. In the preface to his *American Revolution*, 1891, he acknowledged this as due to his having overhauled what was called the "American room" and having superintended the cataloguing of 20,000 items relating to America. "In the course of this work," he went on to say, "my attention was called more and more to sundry problems and speculations connected with the transplantation of European communities to American soil, their development under new conditions, and the effect of all this upon the general progress of civilisation."

In this same preface Fiske revealed how free he was from any grudge, by the tribute paid to Justin Winsor's work in the same field. In fact, Fiske was accustomed to call upon Winsor for recommended books, whenever he was ready to take up a new period in American history.[39] This is one of the finest traits of Fiske's character: his glad recognition of outstanding ability, even when it was possessed by one who might be called a rival. As to Winsor's opinion of Fiske as historian we have less evidence. In the *Narrative and Critical History of America* there are a dozen or more citations to Fiske's works, only one of which takes critical issue, and then only mildly.[40]

[38] Autobiographical notes, Huntington Library manuscript.

[39] S. S. Green. *Reminiscences of John Fiske*, American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, n.s., XIV, 421-28.

[40] V, 533.

There is no doubt as to what that third Americanist, Henry Harrisse, thought of Fiske. In Harrisse's copy of the latter's *Discovery of America*, now in the Clements Library, there is a marginalium, dated July 4, 1896, at the point where Fiske asserts Harrisse's American nativity; this is worth quoting:

> Withal, at no time was it possible to find a publisher in America for any of my works; although in every instance I offered the mss. for absolutely nothing. Nay, when by dint of effort I succeeded in having them printed in Europe, they scarcely ever found purchasers in the United States; and when occasionally mentioned in American reviews, it was generally with expressions of ridicule. The conduct of my countrymen towards me in that respect is shameful! And when we see the unmitigated trash which commands their admiration, I, for one, feel humiliated to an inconceivable degree! [41]

Perhaps it would have mitigated Harrisse's scorn if he had known that the copies of his books in Fiske's library had been uniformly bound in sumptuous dark red three-quarter morocco, gold-ruled, with marbled boards and end-papers! All are devoid of marginalia, but it is obvious from the manner in which he had them bound, that Fiske prized the books.

As his fame as a lecturer grew, Fiske's income steadily increased. Among his manuscripts in the Huntington Library is an account of his earnings and expenditures for the month of February, 1886. This is how it reads:

LECTURES	
Worcester	$200.00
Lewiston	91.00
Concord	75.00
Tremont Temple	45.00
Salem	21.50
TOTAL	433.00 on this paid commission to J. W. Black of $125.00.

[41] Courtesy of Dr. Randolph G. Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library, to whom I am also indebted for several fruitful suggestions in the writing of this paper. Harrisse was equally contemptuous of Winsor; see R. G. Adams's essay on Harrisse in his *Three Americanists* . . . 1939.

For lecture expenses he listed:

Steam cars	39.40
Cabs	8.40
Hotels & restaurants	22.70
Telegrams	8.38
Advertising	14.00
Reading lamp	5.00

Other expenses for the month included:

Clothes for family	18.38
Medicine for family	14.90
Fuel	16.50
Laundry	3.51
Stationery	2.00
Postage	3.54
Allowance to boys	7.36

And two last items:

Books	18.41
Beer	2.30

Five years later, in 1891, Fiske was earning more than $10,000 a year.

The man who as a youth had been a tall wispy bookworm was now filled out, until in the 90's he weighed over 300 pounds. He once described his dimensions as "72 x 56 inches." This caused his friend Howells to remark that "the slender youth I had once known was incredibly lost in the vast bulk which he himself seemed to regard at times with an alien and somewhat puzzled glance."[42]

This increase in flesh did nothing to diminish Fiske's enormous capacity for work. From Alaska to Scotland he travelled, lecturing several hundred times during a season of a few months. As Van Wyck Brooks wrote, the Fiske season came to equal Barnum's as an attraction! In the intervals at home in Cambridge, Fiske would shut himself up in his library for days and nights at a time, having his meals shoved in at the door; the result each time was a new book on American history.

In addition to his own library and that of Harvard, Fiske

[42] *Harper's Weekly*, XL, 732.

utilized many other libraries in the writing of his books. On his tours he made it a point to examine local repositories in search of source material. For example, on days when he was to lecture at Worcester, he would go early in order to work in the Antiquarian Society Library and the Worcester Public Library. In New York he toiled in the Astor Library on the portraits of Washington, and at the Lenox Library he reported finding the Emmet collection all in one room and easy to consult. "Took a cursory glance," he wrote, "and am satisfied that I have struck a gold mine."[43] In Baltimore he was given a private room in the Peabody Library, where he worked a whole day, too busy to go out to lunch, on Chapter II of *The Discovery of America*. In Chicago he examined sixteenth-century books at the Newberry Library, and dined at the home of Edward E. Ayer—a dinner which was equal in quality, he reported, to the Ayer collection of early Americana. He visited the university libraries of Cornell, Howard, Kansas and Minnesota, and at the Minneapolis Public Library he called on his friend, Herbert Putnam, whose great Library of Congress career was still ahead of him. In St. Louis he worked at the Mercantile Library on old files of Missouri newspapers. In Oregon he examined the collection of the Library Association of Portland, and from the Washington State Library in Olympia he wrote to his wife, "I am in the midst of books you see. Came around here this morning to look over some old Spanish volumes on the early history of this coast."[44]

Once when he was due to lecture in England, he wrote in advance to Henry Stevens to enquire about the Americana resources of the British Museum. Stevens's reply was characteristic of the Green Mountain Boy:

> I think you will find the Library of the British Museum a little better place for study on early American history, as well as *late*, than even Harvard College Library and the Boston Public Ditto thrown in, though it may be hard to convince

[43] *Letters*, 654.

[44] *Letters*, 607.

any Massachusetts man of this fact, until he has seen something outside the hub and its surroundings. . . . Do pray come over here and do your work here, where roast beef, American cheese, and strong beer may be had and taken ad libitum. The *Tree of Knowledge* grows now in the centre of the Reading Room of the British Museum in a huge pot. You have only to shake it and down the ripe fruit drops. So pray take an affectionate leave of your large family, pack up your ideas, leave your sins behind, and embark for Bloomsbury, with your American gold-pen and your Yankee energy.[45]

Fiske took this advice, and was not disappointed. Richard Garnett, the Keeper of the Reading Room, cut red tape and gave him the run of the library.

These instances of Fiske's use of libraries have been cited in order to show that he was continually on the alert for source material. He not only knew of the obvious collections of Americana, and used them, but he was accustomed on his travels to explore lesser-known libraries, in the chance of finding new materials.

There has never been a more energetic bookman in our history. How he kept going year after year on a schedule of travelling, lecturing and writing that would exhaust even a modern college president in a short time, was a source of wonder to his friends. Once when asked for his system of health, he replied:

Always sit in a draft when I find one; wear the thinnest clothes I can find, winter and summer; catch cold once in three or four years, but not severely, and prefer to work in a cold room, 55 to 60 degrees. Work the larger part of each 24 hours, and by day or night indifferently. Scarcely ever change a word when once written; eat when hungry, rarely taste coffee or wine or smoke a cigar, but drink two or three quarts of beer each day, and smoke a pipe all the time when at work. Never experienced the disinclination for work, and, therefore, never had to force work. If I feel dull when at work, a half hour at the piano restores normal mental condition, which is one more argument for the hygienic and recuperative effects of music.[46]

Fiske's library revealed the orderly mind of its owner. He arranged it by subjects and would speak of the philosophy corner, the folk-lore section, the philosophy shelves, and so forth. When writing home for a book while he was away on a lecture-tour, he

[45] *Letters*, 479.

[46] W. R. Thayer, *op. cit.*

would direct his wife to the very spot where it was shelved. He kept track of his books too, and once we find him writing with polite firmness to one of his friends: "I don't want to be fussy, but have you volume four of Challamel's 'Mémoires du Peuple Francais' which you were reading when last here? I merely want to keep track of it, for I think it is out of print."[47] His book-plate was a simple one; it bore "John Fiske" in Gothic lettering on a small white rectangle, with a fine black-ruled border, and in the corner a place for entering the chronological accession number. Today his books bear in addition the University of California book-plate with Fiske's name and the names of the donors.

[47] *Letters*, 665.

When his mother built a house in Cambridge, which was ultimately to come to him, he drew up the specifications for the library, with minute attention to the details.[48] At the time of his death from heart failure, on the 4th of July, 1901, Fiske was in the midst of transferring his books to this house, which stood on the corner of Brattle and Ash Streets. The library measured fifty by twenty feet. Its walls were panelled in antique oak, and its floors were of quartered oak. The windows were of leaded glass, set in diamond shape. At one side of the room was a great fireplace, with a sandstone hearth, over which was a slab bearing Fiske's motto: *Disce ut semper victurus; vive ut cras moriturus*—"Learn as if to live forever; live as if to die tomorrow."[49] Upon his death the library went to Fiske's widow, and for twenty-five years it remained in the Brattle Street house as a memorial to him.

In 1926, after the death of Mrs. Fiske, the library was purchased en bloc by a group of citizens of Southern California, inspired by Ernest Carroll Moore, and presented to the University of California at Los Angeles.[50] Earlier in the century the near-by Huntington Library had acquired Fiske's manuscripts at several auction sales. At the time of the Fiske acquisition the library of the newly founded southern branch of the state university contained only 75,000 volumes.

The Fiske library included approximately 7,500 volumes, about half of which were history and biography. Philosophy and religion, linguistics and literature, geography, folk-lore, classics and orientalia, made up the rest. It is in the field of Fiske's dominant interest—early American history—that the library is strongest. These works, acquired for the most part during the last twenty years of Fiske's life, when he was increasingly affluent,

[48] Huntington Library manuscript.

[49] See *John Fiske's Library*, in *Cambridge Tribune*, August 3, 1901, 2:1-2.

[50] The chief donor was Seeley W. Mudd, assisted by George I. Cochran, John R. Haynes, James R. Martin, Meyer Elsasser, William L. Honnold, and Mrs. Joseph F. Sartori—most of them Regents of the University.

include the rarest and most valuable items. It is, however, essentially a scholar's working library, rather than that of a collector. Fiske cared little for editions, issues and points. Two things he liked: subject matter and leather bindings. His later purchases were nearly all bound by McNamee of Cambridge, except for very old books which he preferred to leave in their original bindings. There is a manuscript card catalogue of the library made when it was put up for sale. Fiske apparently never catalogued his books; his prodigious memory doubtless included his entire library; certainly he knew where to lay hand on each and every item.[51]

Fiske's biographer, Clark, states that a respect for books "always restrained him from marking or in any way defacing them. In his Cambridge library the volumes that were his constant companions bear only the marks of respectful usage."[52] As a conscientious librarian I can hardly refuse to endorse Clark's pious sentiment; yet on the other hand, annotations in a work by such an eminent bookman as Fiske are of the greatest interest and value. A detailed examination of the entire library brought to light four categories of marked books: presentation copies to and from Fiske; books containing sentimental inscriptions by Fiske, giving the time and place of their acquisition; books with notes on their cost, rarity, bibliographical points; and finally—most interesting of all—works in which Fiske inscribed critical notes.

Presentation copies to Fiske include several from his friend, Howells, from Darwin and Huxley, and from Wilberforce Eames. There is a copy of Fiske's *Idea of God* in Japanese, given to the author by the translator. There are presentation copies of his own works to his mother. When Fiske got what he thought was a good bargain he was not reluctant to boast of it in the book; and

[51] See Howells's testimony as to Fiske's remarkable memory. This, and Fiske's kindness, are the two qualities which most impressed Howells. *op. cit.*, 732.

[52] J. S. Clark. *Life and Letters of John Fiske*, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1917, I, 28.

in rarer works he would sometimes insert descriptions from Quaritch's and other dealers' catalogues. When a book was acquired under memorable conditions — and was a bargain to boot — then Fiske was moved to such an inscription as the one that appears in a 1784 edition of Cook's *Voyages*:

> A charming memento of one of the happiest days of my life — a good bargain too. The four volumes cost me one pound sterling. This beautiful copy of Cook's voyages, in this beautiful binding, just as it is, I bought in a queer little alley at Rochester, England, April 14, 1883 — the ever memorable day when I first visited Rochester, with my dear friend, James Sime, and heard entrancing music at the cathedral, and told droll yarns at the Bull Inn.

Fiske's practice in critically annotating a book was to list on blank pages at the end the points and corresponding page numbers to which he could later refer. Occasionally he would write at the head of a blank page the word "Errors," and proceed under it to list page numbers. When more strongly moved he would inscribe "fallacious," or as in Goldwin Smith's *The United States, an Outline*, 1893, set down frequent exclamation and interrogation marks throughout the book, coming to a climax at the last paragraphs with the remark, "a devil of a summary!" Books to which he gave no credit whatsoever had their title-pages annotated by Fiske. On that of Belloy's *Christopher Columbus*, 1878, he wrote in his bold copper-plate hand, with customary purple ink, "a trivial unscholarly book, crowded with blunders, but likely to please the mob of readers." In Gray's *History of Oregon*, 1870, Fiske wrote, "Gray is utterly untrustworthy in all that relates to Congregationalist missions and to the Hudson Bay Company. H. H. Bancroft (*N. W. Coast*, ii, 537) calls him 'Gray, the great untruthful,' and (*Oregon*, i, 96) 'that most mendacious missionary.' He hates and vilifies Episcopalians, Englishmen, Catholics, etc. The book fairly bristles with blunders." When the President of Whitman College in Oregon sent Fiske a copy of Nixon's *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*, 1895, asking him to tell the Whitman

story in his own distinguished style, Fiske dealt the book summary justice on its own title-page: "This book is a romance, but it is not true. It is utterly worthless." These were strong words from one of the kindest men who ever lived.

Today on the highest level of the U.C.L.A. library stack are shelved the "E" and "F" books on American history. One can walk along the aisles and, if one has come to know the Fiske books as well as I have, can pick them out from among their myriad fellows. Often it is the red morocco bindings, the marbled boards and end-papers, that give them a rich uniform likeness; and other times it is merely an intangible something that proclaims them to be his books.

The stack windows look to the south, over the coastal plain a dozen miles to the blue ocean channel bounded by Santa Catalina Island. Surely the great human being that was John Fiske would be glad if he knew that his books were sheltered under one roof, even though it be in a corner of the continent far from his beloved Cambridge.

He once wrote: "There is a kind of human presence, all too rare in this world, which is in itself a stimulus and an education worth more than all the scholastic artifices that the wit of man has devised; for in the mere contact with it one's mind is trained and widened as if by enchantment."[53] Such a presence was John Fiske, and even to this day, though he has been forty years gone, it endures in the books which he collected and read and loved.

[53] *Cambridge Fifty Years a City*, 43.

A Check-List of First Editions of Writings by John Fiske

1869

Tobacco and Alcohol. I. It Does Pay to Smoke. II. The Coming Man Will Drink Wine. New York, Leypoldt and Holt.

1872

The Class-room Taine. History of English Literature, abridged from the Translation of H. Van Laun and edited with chronological Table, Notes and Index by J. Fiske. New York, Holt and Williams.

1873

Myths and Myth-makers; Old Tales and Superstitions interpreted by Comparative Mythology. Boston, J. R. Osgood and Co.

1874

Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of Evolution, with Criticisms on the Positive Philosophy. Boston, J. R. Osgood and Co. 2 vols.

1876

The Unseen World, and other Essays. Boston, J. R. Osgood and Co.

1879

The Collection of Books and Autographs bequeathed to Harvard College Library by the Honorable Charles Sumner. Cambridge, Mass., University Press, J. Wilson and Son. (Bibliographical Contributions. Edited by Justin Winsor, No. 6)

Darwinism, and other Essays. New York, The Macmillan Co.

The Presidents of America; a Series of Original Steel Engravings. . . . With Biographical Sketches and an Introductory Essay by John Fiske. Boston, E. F. Thayer and Co.

1884

The Destiny of Man viewed in the Light of his Origin. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

Excursions of an Evolutionist. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1885

American Political Ideas viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History: three Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in May, 1880. New York, Harper and Brothers.

The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1887

Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography. Edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1887-89. 7 vols.

Contributions are unsigned. A manuscript note in Fiske's hand inserted in Vol. I of his set is headed, "Principal articles written for this work by John Fiske: — Abigail, Charles Francis, John, John Quincy, Samuel Adams, John André, Benedict Arnold, Richard Campbell, Lord Chatham, Langdon Cheves, Rufus Choate, Dr. Benjamin Church, Sir Henry Clinton, William Cobbett, Lord Cornwallis, Jeremiah Curtin, Thomas Cushing, Silas Deane, John Richard Dennett, Doniphan, Charles William Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, Fairfax family, Benjamin Franklin, Horatio Gates (rewritten), Thomas Hutchinson, Andrew Jackson, Lafayette, Charles Lee, Lee family (before 1800), James Madison, Francis Marion, James Otis (and family), Timothy Pickering, Israel Putnam, Quincy family, Thomas Sumter, Banastre Tarleton, John Tyler, James, Joseph, Mercy (Otis), John Collins Warren, Roger Williams, Daniel Webster, John Joachim Zubly."

Washington and his Country; being Irving's Life of Washington, abridged for the use of Schools, with Introduction and Continuation, giving a brief Outline of United States History from the Discovery of America to the end of the Civil War, by John Fiske. Boston, Ginn and Co.

1888

The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1889

The Beginnings of New England; or, The Puritan Theocracy in its Relations to Civil and Religious Liberty. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

The War of Independence. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1890

Civil Government in the United States considered with some reference to its Origins. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1891

The American Revolution. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co. 2 vols.

The Doctrine of Evolution, its Scope and Influence. (Evolution in Science and Art; Lectures and Discussions before the Brooklyn Ethical Association. Evolution Series, No. 17). New York, D. Appleton and Co. "Reprinted from the Popular Science Monthly, September 1891. Revised by the author." [Reprint includes "Abstract of Discussion" not contained in the periodical version.]

Principal articles written for this work by John Fiske: —

Adams, Abigail
do, Charles Francis
do John,
do John Quincy
do Samuel
André, John
Arnold, Benedict
Campbell, Richard
Chatham, Lord
Chaves, Langdon
Choate, Rufus
Church, Benjamin (DT)
Clinton, Sir Henry
Cobbett, William
Cornwallis, Lord
Curtis, Jeremiah
Cushing, Thomas
Deane, Silas
Dennett, John Richard
Doniphan,
Eliot, Charles William
Eliot, William Greenleaf.
Fairfax family
Franklin, Benjamin
Gates, Horatio (rewritten)
Hutchinson, Thomas
Jackson, Andrew
Lafayette
Lee, Charles
Lee family (before 1800)
Madison, James
Marion, Francis
Otis, James (and family)
Pickering, Timothy
Putnam, Israel
Quincy family
Sumter, Thomas
Tarleton, Banastre
Tyler, John
Warren, James
do Joseph
do Mercy (Otis)
do John Collins
Williams, Roger
Webster, Daniel
Zubly, John Joachim.

"Evidence," in Fiske's handwriting, of his contributions to *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography.*

1892

The Discovery of America, with some Accounts of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co. 2 vols.

1894

Edward Livingston Youmans, Interpreter of Science for the People; a Sketch of his Life, with Selections from his Published Writings and Extracts from his Correspondence with Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall and Others. New York, D. Appleton and Co.

A History of the United States for Schools. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1897

Old Virginia and her Neighbours. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co. 2 vols.

1899

A Century of Science, and other Essays. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co. 2 vols.

Through Nature to God. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1900

The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1901

Life Everlasting. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1902

Colonization of the New World. Philadelphia, Lea Brothers and Co..

Essays, Historical and Literary. New York, The Macmillan Co. 2 vols.

Independence of the New World. Philadelphia, Lea Brothers and Co.

Modern Development of the New World. Philadelphia, Lea Brothers and Co.

New France and New England. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

1904

How the United States became a Nation. Boston, Ginn and Co.

1909

The Meaning of Infancy. Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co.

Unpublished Orations: "The Discovery of the Columbia River and the Whitman Controversy"; "The Crispus Attucks Memorial"; and "Columbus Memorial." Boston, The Bibliophile Society.

1939

The Personal Letters of John Fiske; a small edition privately printed for members of the Bibliophile Society. Boston, The Bibliophile Society.

1940

The Letters of John Fiske, edited by his Daughter, Ethel F. Fisk. New York, The Macmillan Co.

A standard edition of Fiske's works was published in 24 volumes by Houghton Mifflin in 1902. Translations of his books have appeared in the familiar European tongues, as well as in Russian and Japanese; and there have been American editions in Braille.

EARLY EDITIONS OF GEORGE SANDYS'S "OVID": THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF PRODUCTION*

By Richard Beale Davis

AMONG the few poetic writings connecting Jacobean England and the first colony in America, George Sandys's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* deserves an honored place. Discerning critics in three centuries have paused to comment upon it. Two generations after its initial appearance John Dryden remarked concerning his own version of a portion of the *Metamorphoses* that he himself had tried to translate the "beauties of [his] . . . author" closely enough to give them the same turn of verse as in the original. He added: "and this I may say, without vanity is not the talent of every poet. He who has arrived the nearest to it, is the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age."[1] Pope, who liked the Ovid extremely, declared[2] that "English poetry owes much of its present beauty" to Sandys's translations. At the end of the nineteenth century Moses Coit Tyler admiringly summarized the work as "the first utterance of the conscious literary spirit articulated in America."[3]

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Boston, June 23, 1941.

[1] "Preface Prefixed to *The Fables*," in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by George Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1885, XI, p. 209.

[2] Armistead C. Gordon, Jr., "George Sandys," in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[3] *History of American Literature during the Colonial Time*, 1897, 2 vols., I, p. 54. Actually, of course, the "firstness" of the Ovid has been open to slight question. There are two other potential candidates: (1) Thomas Lodge's *A Margarite of America* [London], for John Busbie, 1596, is in a sense a product of America for it was written, most probably, aboard ship off South America (cf. N. Burton Paradise.

Despite the importance of the book thus acknowledged from these points of view, it has received comparatively little attention. Since Sir Sidney Lee's sketch[4] of Sandys in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, no attempt has been made to criticize it in any way, though the *D.N.B.* article and its predecessors leave several interesting problems obviously unsettled.

It is the purpose of the present paper to re-consider several of these problems in the light of new evidence[5] and more detailed study, and to consider for the first time several questions which naturally arise from the more complete appraisal. Before these problems can even be stated in a manner intelligible to the reader, however, it will be necessary to outline briefly the history of Sandys's translation.

In 1621, just as Sandys was setting out for his new post as treasurer of the colony of Virginia, a translation by him of the first five books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was entered in the rec-

Thomas Lodge, the History of an Elizabethan, New Haven, 1931, p. 42). Lodge says: "Touching the place where I wrote this it was in those straits christened by Magelan." (2) Christopher Brooke's "A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia. . . . ," written by C. B. Gent., 4°, London, G. Eld for R. Mylbourne, 1622, is described as "Probably the earliest celebration in verse of the English settlements in America" (cf. H. V. Jones. *Adventures in Americana, 1493-1897*, New York, W. E. Rudge, 1928, 2 vols., I, p. 86). The bibliographical description gives no evidence of the place of composition. Mr. John Cook Wyllie of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, who has examined the unique copy, assures me that there is no indication in the content of the volume. Though Brooke, a famous Elizabethan lawyer and poet, was one of the "adventurers" or stockholders in the Virginia Company, there is no evidence that he was ever in Virginia, certainly at this time. Actually all the evidence points to his being busy in behalf of the colony *in England* all during this period (cf. Lee, Sidney. "Christopher Brooke," in the *D.N.B.*; Kingsbury, Susan Myra. *The Virginia Company of London*, Washington, D. C., 4 vols., 1906-1935, — all volumes for Brooke's activities; and *The Virginia Magazine of History & Biography*, IX, p. 314 and XXX, p. 159).

Certainly neither of these candidates can claim composition in English-speaking America.

[4] Later sketches have added nothing new (cf. article on Sandys in the *Dictionary of American Biography*). The Rev. Richard Hooper's earlier consideration is not as complete as Lee's, though it is more detailed.

[5] *E.g.*, Miss Susan Myra Kingsbury's *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 1906-1935, 4 vols. and abstracts from the British Public Record Office published in the *Virginia Magazine of Hist. & Biog.*

ords[6] of the Stationers' Company. Soon after he arrived in America he received a poetical epistle[7] from his friend Michael Drayton urging that he continue with the Ovid as he had begun in the first five books. From Sandys's letters and the dedication to the complete work we know that he followed Drayton's advice during the rest of 1621, 1622 and 1623. Sandys was reappointed an official of Virginia in 1624, in 1626 and in 1628. In 1626 the first complete edition of the fifteen books of Ovid was printed in London, with a dedication to King Charles. In 1628 a duodecimo based on the 1626, a small folio, appeared. In 1632 a new enlarged edition, the "second," with copious and learned notes and more elaborate engravings, was printed. During the rest of the century many other editions were brought forth, but since they are merely printers' variants of the 1632 text they do not affect the story of the evolution of the work itself.

The writer has two aims in mind. First, to make as clear as possible the relation between the 1621, 1626, 1628 and 1632 forms of the Ovid. Second, to show the extent of the relation between the translation and its American environment.

In attaining these aims, three steps will be taken. First is a review of the old problem as to whether the first five books were published in an early separate edition. Second is a comparison of the three early complete versions of 1626, 1628 and 1632 to show the poet's improvement in form and phrasing. And third is a determination of how much of the work on these three "editions" was done during Sandys's stay in America, of the circumstances under which he worked, and of direct evidences of environment in the work itself. The first problem will be considered first and separately, while the other two will be discussed more or less together.

[6] Cf. Part I, below.

[7] Cf. Part I, below.

I.

Since there is no extant copy of the hypothetical 1621 translation of the first five books, this version has no part in a physical comparison of the early editions. And since the first five books were evidently translated before Sandys ever saw America, it is related to circumstances of production in the New World only in a negative fashion. The very fact that no copy exists, however, has naturally raised the question as to whether it ever existed. Almost every commentator[8] on the Ovid has felt obliged to consider and to express some opinion on the problem, frequently with little or no documentary evidence as basis for his statement.

In the present instance the writer follows the tradition in expressing an opinion, but he is fully cognizant that he is expressing only an opinion. His principal purpose is to bring together and to bring up to date the existing material on the question. There seems to have been no attempt to do this since Richard Hooper's work[9] in 1872. Several new points may be added to his summary.

As mentioned above, there is little doubt that Sandys had translated five books before he set out for Virginia in 1621. The most famous evidence[10] is contained in the lines of the translator's friend Michael Drayton, who addressed[11] Sandys in a poetical epistle soon after the latter's departure for the New World:

> And (worthy George) by industry and use,
> Let's see what lines *Virginia* will produce
> Goe on with Ovid, as you have begunne,

[8] Neill, E. D. *History of the Va. Co. of London*, 1869, p. 208; Hooper, Richard. *Poetical Works of George Sandys*, 1872, p. xxviii; Brown, Alexander. *Genesis of the U. S.*, 1880, 2 vols., II, pp. 994-995; Tyler, M. C. *History of Am. Lit. in the Colonial Time*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52; Lee, Sidney. "George Sandys," in *D.N.B.*; Gordon, A. C., Jr. "George Sandys," in *D.A.B.*

[9] *Poetical Works of George Sandys*, *op. cit.*, Introduction in Vol. I. The writings of Brown and Neill, *op. cit.*, on the Virginia colony have given much information on Sandys's activities.

[10] And almost the only direct evidence, as will be noted below.

[11] *Works of Michael Drayton*, 1932, 4 vols., III, pp. 206-207, lines 37 ff.

With the first five Bookes; let your numbers run
Glib as the former, so shall it live long,
And doe much honour to the *English* tongue.

Other contemporary evidence is less specific. In a letter to a friend[12] soon after his arrival in Virginia, Sandys mentioned that he had during the voyage translated more books, but he does not write what number he had previously completed.

What seems evidence is the entry[13] in the Stationers' Register of April 27, 1621, to Matthew Lownes and William Barrett:

Entred for the [i]e Copie under the hands of master Doctor GOADE and Master Lownes warden A booke called OVIDES *Metamorphosis translated into English verse* by Master GEORGE SANDES

It will be noticed that there is no mention of five books.[14]

The generally accepted "proof" of existence and publication of the first five books is the notice, published almost two centuries later, of a copy of such an edition. In 1808 J. Haslewood, writing[15] in Brydges's *Censura Literaria*, describes the 1626 and 1632 editions, but precedes them with the following:

. . . *The first five Bookes of Ovid's Metamorphosis. Second Edition. Imprinted for W. B. 1621. 16 mo. pp. 141, besides Introduction.*

This edition of the translation of Ovid by George Sandys, is unnoticed in all the lists of his works. The title is engraved on a curtain, supported by two flying Cupids; above the curtain, Venus lying on a couch of clouds, holding a burning heart, attended with doves and the god of love, and below a full assembly of the heathen deities. "Fr. Delaram, sculp." A head of Ovid in an oval, with verses

[12] To Samuel Wrote, March 28, 1623 (cf. Neill, E. D. *Virginia Carolorum*, 1886, p. 45).

[13] Arber's Reprint, IV, p. 53.

[14] The compilers of the *Short-Title Catalogue* of English Books Published before 1640, p. 433, have made the situation more confusing by pushing back the date four years in an incorrect reference to the Stationers' Register: "Ent. to M. Lownes a. W. Barrett 23 fb. 1617." Evidently the mistake arose from Lownes and Barrett's later 1621 entry quoted above, for the S. R. gives (Arber Reprint, III, p. 287) the 1617 Ovid as "*gram*[*m*]*aticallie translated* by John Bringsley," though it is entered as the "copie" of "master *Lownes* senior warden."

[15] VI, pp. 132 ff. No later known edition has this collation.

beneath, as in the folios. "Ovid defended," is the only article prefixed to this edition, which has a trifling variance with the subsequent ones, as giving for "Ovid's selfe-censure," a translation of the concluding lines of lib. 15.

. . . [sketches of the 1626 and 1632 editions follow here] . . .

Of the edition, dated 1621, I have never seen any other copy than the one above described. The date of the first edition of the five books yet remains to be ascertained.

Richard Hooper[16] and Armistead C. Gordon, Jr.[17] express doubt as to the authenticity of this description, but they merely mention the possibility of inaccuracy. Moses Coit Tyler,[18] Alexander Brown,[19] Sidney Lee,[20] and Edward D. Neill[21] merely follow Haslewood's citation.

Haslewood's description is so circumstantial, however, and has so little physical support that it should be briefly analyzed. The description "The title is engraved on a curtain, supported by two flying Cupids. . ." is of a title-page which not only is in the same spirit and form as the 1626 and 1632 pages, but also might easily be a composite of several of the many engravings in the 1632 edition. The Venus, the cloud, the doves, and similar conventions appear in various environments in the engravings of the later volume, intermingled with the symbols of the subjects of the fifteen books.

The signature on the engraving, "Fr. Delaram, sculp.," is interesting. Though Delaram had nothing to do with the 1626 nor the 1632 title-page, he had designed the page of one or more of the editions of Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey Begun. . .*, 1615. Haslewood knew this, for he refers to a description of the *Relation* occurring elsewhere in Brydges's *Censura Literaria*. Though it seems entirely reasonable that a designer for Sandys's earlier

[16] *Poetical Works of George Sandys, op. cit.*, I, p. xxviii.

[17] "George Sandys," in *D.A.B.*

[18] *History of Am. Lit., op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

[19] *Genesis of the U. S., op. cit.*, II, pp. 994-995.

[20] "George Sandys," in the *D.N.B.*

[21] *Hist. of the Va. Co. of London, op. cit.*, p. 208.

work might have done this "first edition" (or "second," as it is called) of the Ovid, it is also clear that borrowing the name of Delaram in a synthetic description would be an easy and natural course.

The "head of Ovid in an oval, with verses beneath," is admittedly like the folios. "Ovid defended," the only article prefixed to this edition, is also admittedly similar to those in the 1626 and 1632 copies. The curious difference Haslewood mentions is that here for "Ovid's selfe-censure" is a translation of the concluding lines of "lib. 15." Now Haslewood certainly must have read these lines in the 1626 or 1632 versions,[22] lines among the most poetic in both original and translation. Certainly the translator never used the lines in the "later" versions in such a position.

This description of Haslewood's is the only "proof" that the "first" and "second" editions of the five books ever appeared in print. Richard Hooper[23] in 1872 and Sidney Lee[24] at the end of the century had seen no copy of the work, though they had searched the British Museum, the Bodleian, and private libraries. Today physical proof of its existence is still lacking. The editors[25] of the *Short-Title Catalogue* and its supplement, with access to all major libraries in England and America, have been unable to discover a copy.

Of course the great obstacle to casting aside Haslewood's evidence is assigning a motive for his description. The burden of proof remains with the doubter, though enough is known today of the forgeries of Collier and other nineteenth-century critics to render such a condition in the present instance entirely possible,

[22] Cf. below, pp. 274-275, where they are quoted.

[23] *Poetical Works of George Sandys, op. cit.*, I, p. xxxi.

[24] "George Sandys," in *D.N.B.*

[25] Mr. William A. Jackson of the Harvard College Library informs me that he has never found any trace of a copy (letter of October 31, 1938). Dr. J. Q. Adams of the Folger Shakespeare Library doubts that the printed edition has ever existed (letter to the author, October 18, 1938).

and for a number of curious reasons which will not be gone into here.

As noticed above, Sandys himself mentions nowhere in his letters the publication of the five earlier books. On the contrary, the tone of the letter to Wrote mentioned above[26] would indicate a desire to continue a work just begun. The dedication of the 1626 edition to Charles I likewise ignores any earlier appearance of the work:

> . . . It [the Ovid] needeth more than a single denization, being a double stranger: sprung from the stock of the ancient Romans, but bred in the New-World, of the rudeness of which it cannot participate; especially having wars and tumults to bring it to light, instead of the Muses. . . .

Sandys would probably not have made this New World breeding of his Ovid so emphatic had he been conscious that one-third of the content of the volume had already been published before he first saw America, and that in all likelihood the King had already seen the earlier version. Drayton could have seen the five books when, as was the custom, they were circulated in manuscript among the author's friends. This circulation also would account for the entry in the Stationers' Register, for it could easily have been a "staying" entry on the part of Lownes and Barrett, to whom Sandys may have promised[27] the publication of the completed work to keep others from "pirating" a manuscript copy while the author was completing the work in the New World.

Even were one to grant that Haslewood was sincere and that the five books were published in the form he describes, the omis-

[26] Note 12.

[27] Or they themselves might have issued an edition once they were sure their author was aboard ship (cf. the "printed for W.B." of the 1621 ed.). The 1621 S.R. entry to Lownes and Barrett is crossed out with the notation: "This is crost out by an order of the court made 8 Aprilis. 1628." The 1626 edition was published by W. Stansby, but an S.R. entry of April 3°, 1626 assigned to Master Parker the share of "mistris Barrett" in "Ovid's metamorphosis in English verse by GEORGE SANDS." Another entry of 7° Maij 1626 assigns it to Stansby. This also is "crost out" by court order of April 8, 1628. (also cf. below.)

sion of a dedication to Charles I (still Prince Charles) is suspicious, for Sandys had already dedicated *A Relation of a Journey Begun* . . . to his life-long friend, and dedicated all subsequent editions of this and of his other works to the King. This omission in itself would indicate a publication without Sandys's consent, perhaps after he had departed for America.

Thus the matter stands. Haslewood is still the sole authority for any publication before 1626, and his evidence is open to the doubts mentioned above. If he is truthful, however, there still remains the strong likelihood that the five books were pirated and published (as were Shakespeare's quartos), or were published with no supervision by Sandys himself. Certainly there is enough evidence to prove that Sandys considered the *1626* the first edition of a work in which he took considerable pride, and which he dedicated to Charles as a work "bred in the New-World," which Sandys never saw until 1621.

II.

Having sailed in the retinue of his relative, Governor Edwin Wyatt, Sandys reached the Virginia colony in 1621. Certainly the new treasurer-in-residence had a manuscript of the beginnings of the Ovid on the ship with him, for he later notified[28] his friend, Samuel Wrote, in London:

> Yet amongst the roreing of the seas, the rustling of the shrowdes, and clamour of Saylers I translated two books, and will perhaps, when the sweltering heat of the day confines me to my Chamber, give a further essay, for which if I be taxt I have noe other excuse but that it was the recreac̄on of my idle hours.

Immediately on landing the treasurer found his hands more than full with the affairs of his office. The fifteen hundred acres[29]

[28] Neill, Edward D. *Virginia Carolorum*, 1886, p. 45 and Neill, Edward D. *Virginia Vetusta*, 1885, pp. 124ff.

[29] Stith, William. *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*, Reprint 1753, London, p. 190.

and fifty servants, the perquisites of his office, had not been set aside. The accounts of the "staple commodities"[30] had to be straightened out, for this was one of the principal reasons for his appointment.

Sandys began by purchasing two hundred acres of land of his own so that the indentured servants[31] who accompanied him might be set to work at once. He likewise began his program[32] of diversification of industry and agriculture, including silk production, grape culture, ship-building, glassmaking, and the erection of a water mill. From the very beginning it was his duty to explain to the Company at home as to the tobacco export and the necessities of life in the colony—the urgent need for agricultural implements, hardware for houses, arms, and clothing.

From the first he appears to have lived close to Jamestown, though not in the village. His letters[33] of 1623 were addressed from Newport Newes [*sic*], and he himself mentions that he lived at "Lieut. Perses"[33] (or Captain William Pierce's). There seems to have been no house on his own two hundred acres or on the fifteen hundred held later from the Company, for Sandys was a roving bachelor[34] who would not have known what to do with a home had he possessed one.

When the Court and Council were in session the treasurer was naturally always in Jamestown. Otherwise, if not on official tours, he seems to have stayed in his room at Pierce's. Pierce's house, from references in the letters to river travel, was probably lo-

[30] Neill, E. D. *History of the Va. Co., op. cit.*, p. 223. Order given in Company's letter to Colonial authorities, July 25, 1621.

[31] Cf. *Minutes of the Council and General Court.* In: *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography*, XXVII, pp. 270-271.

[32] Cf. Davis, R. B. *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer.* In: *Americana*, April 1939, for an account of Sandys's multifarious activities.

[33] Cf. Sainsbury, W. N. *Abstracts from the English Public Records Office.* In: *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography*, VI, pp. 241-243.

[34] There is in the present writer's possession certain information which suggests that Sandys was married, though no biographers have stated that he was. Certainly the lady was not in America with Sandys.

cated on the James between Newport News and Jamestown. Sandys liked it "for it was the fairest [spot] in Virginia"[33] for the purpose of raising silkworms. Here, in the hours snatched from night and repose,[35] he continued his translation of Ovid.

The years from 1621 to 1626 were crucial ones in the little colony's history. 1621 was itself, up to that time, the most prosperous and promising the community had known. Twenty-one ships and thirteen hundred new settlers brought new problems of settlement and industry.

The recent immigrants had hardly built their log houses before the great catastrophe of Colonial Virginia history, the massacre of 1622, sent the shivering survivors of the families in the outlying districts back to the stockade at Jamestown. Sandys, though a civil official, was the first to go into action. The Governor and Council reported[36] to London:

> . . . We have anticipated your desires by setting upon the Indyans in all plces, Mr Trer first fell uppon the Tapahatonaks in severall expeditions, Sir George Yardley uppon ye Wyanokes. . . .

or, in more elegant language:[37]

> Stout Master George Sands upon a night
> did bravely venture forth
> And mong'st the Savage murtherers
> did form a deed of worth
> For finding many by a fire
> to death their lives they pay
> Set fire of a towne of theirs
> and bravely came away. . . .

Then came the work of rehabilitation and a re-inspiring of confidence in badly frightened settlers. Eventually the treasurer

[35] Cf. "Dedication" to 1628 Ovid, given below.

[36] Neill, E. D. *History of the Va. Co., op. cit.*, p. 364. Letter of January 20, 1622/3.

[37] *Good Newes from Virginia*, March 1623 (in Neill, E. D. *Virginia Vetusta, op. cit.*, pp. 147-148).

returned to his pet schemes of vineyards and mulberries and silkworms, to finding sand for his glassmaking, to formulating treaties with the Indians, to urging greater production of corn.[38] He was a hard taskmaster, as the grumblings of his servants, which he himself reports, will testify. But he practiced himself the arduous tasks assigned his laborers.

For his recreation, instead of or in addition to bowling or drinking, he chose to continue his translation of Ovid. "Limn'd by that imperfect light"[39] of flickering pine-torches or crude candles, the last eight of the fifteen books took shape. They were finished by 1625.

In 1624 the Virginia Company was dissolved, but by August 26th of that year Sandys had been reappointed[40] to the Council of Virginia by James I. The appointment was made while Sandys was still in America; Wyatt was also reappointed as governor. In 1626, however, Charles I, who had long been a personal friend of George Sandys, appointed Sir George Yeardley as governor in place of Wyatt. Sandys himself was reappointed,[41] but it now seems certain[42] that he was in England in that year, and that he never returned to fill the office. This is important, for it was then that the first edition of the fifteen books of Ovid appeared. And

[38] Here he himself set the example.

[39] Cf. "Dedication" to the 1626 Ovid, given below.

[40] Brown, Alexander. *Genesis of the U. S., op. cit.*, p. 994.

[41] On March 4, 1626 (cf. Brown. *Genesis*, p. 994).

[42] This is one of the points on which all commentators of Sandys seem uncertain (cf. Hooper, Brown, Neill, Gordon, Lee, etc., *op. cit.*). New information, however, makes it evident that Sandys went back to England with Governor Wyatt in 1625. (Permission was given Wyatt to return to England, on account of the death of his father, on Sept. 15, 1624. Cf. Kingsbury. *The Va. Co. of London, op. cit.*, IV, p. 504.)

In a letter of March 4, 1628 (Gov. West & Council to the Privy Council), George Sandys's "two years absence from the colony and his not purposing to return" is mentioned (*Virginia Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, VII, p. 259, Colonial Papers 4, no. 41). Also in *Minutes of the Council and General Court* for February 6, 1627, Dr. Pott was ordered to procure out of England a certificate from either Wyatt or Sandys concerning kine formerly in Sandys's possession (*Virginia Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXIX, p. 49, also in Kingsbury. *The Va. Co. of London*).

it furnishes evidence that George Sandys personally superintended the publication.

On April 3rd the Stationers' Register records[43] the assigning by "Mistris Barrett"[44] unto "Master Parker" "her estate right title and Interest" in "Ovid's metamorphosis in English verse by GEORGE SANDS." On May 7th[45] Master Stansby "Entred for his Copie under the hands of Master Doctor Goade and Master Islip warden A booke Called Ovid's *Metamorphosis XV* : *bookes in* English verse by GEORGE SANDES." Stansby published this edition[44] in the same year. In the meanwhile, Charles I granted Sandys on April 24th special license to publish his translation "the better to encourage him and others to employ their labors and studies in good literature"[46] and granted him exclusive rights to his translation for twenty-one years.[47] This royal patent, rigid[48] in its protection of the author, probably affected later publication considerably.

Stith has frequently[49] been quoted as stating that Sandys completed the translation in 1623, but Stith's authority is unknown.

[43] IV, 158.

[44] "Mistris Barrett" was asserting a claim from the 1621 entry. Later, by the court order of April 8, 1628, both the Barrett-Lownes 1621 entry and the Stansby 1626 entry were "crost out" (cf. note 27 above, and below).

[45] IV, 160. A year later (April 10—S.R. IV, 176) Thomas Lownes entered from his father's estate "His parte of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*."

[46] As quoted in Brown, *Genesis*, *op. cit.*, p. 994.

[47] This explains the "crost out" by court order of 1628 in the S.R. Sandys had to carry the king's license to court to get back the rights originally granted in 1621 to the publishers (cf. below).

[48] Sandys's grant parallels those to Samuel Daniel and William Alexander. A privilege of twenty-one or thirty-one years was granted Alexander in the publication of his *Psalms of King David* by Charles I (cf. *Calendar of State Papers . . . reign of Charles I*, London 1858, Jan. 21, 1628; and Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals 1637-1662*, Edinburgh, 1842, vol. 3, p. 530). In 1618 James had granted Samuel Daniel a patent for exclusive publication for ten years of *The Collection of the Historie of England*. A heavy fine, right to employ constable in search for suspected piracies, etc., put teeth in this grant (cf. Thomas Rymer's *Foedera*, London, J. Tonson, 1726-35, 20 vols., v, 17, 1727, pp. 72-73). Evidently teeth were often needed (cf. below).

[49] *E.g.*, Hooper, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

If one is to judge by the rapidity with which the poet translated two books on the voyage to America, it is entirely possible that the remaining eight books were completed two years after he landed. Certainly he kept the translation until it was convenient for him to carry it to England himself.

The dedication to the edition, however, which deserves quotation, would indicate a long and necessarily spread-out period of composition:

> To the Most High and Mighty Prince Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.
> Sir,
>
> Your gracious acceptance of the first fruits of my travels, when you were our hope, as now our happiness, hath actuated both will and power to the finishing of this piece, being limned by that imperfect light which was snatcht from the hours of night and repose. For the day was not mine, but dedicated to the service of your great father and yourself: which had it proved as fortunate[50] as faithful in me, and others more worthy, we had hoped, ere many years had turned about, to have presented you with a rich and well-peopled kingdom; from whence now, with myself, I only bring this composure: —
>
> *Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.*
>
> It needeth more than a single denization, being a double stranger: sprung from the stock of the ancient Romans, but bred in the New-World, of the rudeness of which it cannot participate; especially having wars and tumults to bring it to light, instead of the Muses. But however imperfect, your favour is able to supply, and to make it worthy of life, if you judge it not unworthy of your royal patronage. . . . Long may you live to be, as you are, the delight and glory of your people: and slowly, yet surely, exchange your mortal diadem for an immortal. So wishes
>
> Your Majesty's most humble servant,
> George Sandys

But more of this volume below. Whether Sandys remained in England from this time on is a matter of some interest; for if he did, he might himself have been able to supervise the edition of his work which appeared two years later. There is now good evidence that he did remain in England,[51] but no further reason for

[50] Alluding to the set-back of the massacre of 1622 and consequent confusion.

[51] See note 42 above and body of this paper below.

believing that he supervised a 1628 edition—in fact, quite the contrary.

"Printed by *Robert Young*, . . . to be sold by *J. Grismond*, 1628," this second printing of the fifteen books is very little different from the first. On April 10, 1627[52] Thomas Lownes had taken over his deceased father's interest in various books, including Sandys's Ovid. On May 30th[53] of the same year all T. Lownes's books were assigned to H. Lownes, *sen.* and R. Young, and T. Lownes went out of business.[54] Evidently the new owners of the Lownes's "copyrights" desired to capitalize on the popularity of certain of their recent acquisitions by reissuing them. The two issues should be compared briefly. The 1626 title-page is engraved with the inscription "T. Cecill Sculp." in the corner:

| Ovid's | Metamorphosis | Englished | by | G. S. | [*ornament*] | Imprinted at | London | Mdcxxvi | *Cum Privilegio* |

This is a small folio. The 1628 volume is a small octavo with the title-page:

| Ovid's | Metamor= | phosis | Englished by | G S. | [*rule*] | London | *Printed by* | *Robert Young* | *are to be ſold* | *by J. Griſmond.* | 1628. |

The engraving is but a small and crude copy of Cecill's work for the 1626 edition.[55] There are several minor alterations in spelling in the 1628, as a consistent alteration of the "ay" spelling (1626) for "ai" in 1628. There are a few variations in

[52] S.R. (Arber reprint), IV, 176.

[53] *Ibid.*, IV, 180-1; V, xcviii.

[54] As noticed above, the 1621 entry to Lownes and Barrett and the 1626 to Stansby were crossed out by a court order of April 8, 1628. This may have had nothing to do with the 1628 edition; on the other hand, it may have been the appearance of the 1628 edition, unauthorized, which impelled Sandys to invoke the King's license of 1626.

[55] Mr. William A. Jackson of the Harvard College Library has very kindly compared these editions for me.

phraseology. For example, at the end of the ninth book, the 1626 reads:

> Sing Ioy! Their gifts they to the Temple bring;

whereas in the 1628 it reads:

> Sing Ioy! Their gifts unto the Temple bring;

Such alterations would seem obviously auditory or visual errors on the part of the copyist or typesetter rather than any conscious revision by the author. In fact, they certainly indicate that the author did not see this version before printing.

The Stationers' Court records, which came to my attention after I had drawn the above conclusions, prove quite definitely that the 1628 edition was a piracy. An order[56] of April 8, 1628, is positive:

> Geo: Sandes. This day Mr Sandes Patent for the sole printing of the 15. bookes of Ovides Metamorphosis by him translated into English verse was openlye reade in the hall this quarter day. And it is ordered that th'entrance to M^r^ Barret and M^r^ Lownes deceased of the first five bookes and the assignm^t^ to Robt Younge, and the Entrance of the whole 15. bookes to mr Stansby shalbe all Crost out of the Regester Booke of the Company for that noe man shall laye anie claime to the printinge of the same or any ꝑte thereof. /

Evidently Young continued to print and sell his edition, for on January 26, 1631, there is a further order[57]

> This day upon a new Complaint made by m^r^ Sandes about the printing of his translacõñ of the XV. bookes of (ovides Metamorphosis.) The m^r^ Wardens & Assistants hearing what m^r^ Sandes could alleadge and what m^r^ Young & m^r^ Haviland could say in Answere. They then for their further satisfaction caused all the Entries heretofore made & an order concerning these Entries to be read w^ch^ order followeth in these words (vide page 99 *p* Sandes) as therein appeareth w^ch^ order being Read this Co^rt^ conceived to be donn upon very good ground & doe

[56] Court Book C, p. 99 [*a*].

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 117 [*b*].

approve of the same in all pointes And upon further examinacõñ of this Cause doe find that the said Robert Young & John Haviland (at the tyme of their imprinting the said bookes) did know that m^r^ Sandes had before obteyned his Ma^tes^lrēs Pattentes for the Sole printing of his said Translacõñ And that they printed the bookes now in question by a Copy printed w^th^ this addicõñ (cum priviledgio[58] [*sic*]) w^ch^ induceth the Co^rt^ to conceive that they could not be ignorant that the sole printing of the same bookes belonged to the said m^r^ Sandes. whereupon the Co^rt^ agayne ordered that the printing of the said booke is to remayne soly in the disposicõñ of the said m^r^ Sandes & his assignes /

Thus, though Sandys was evidently in England at the time, one may dismiss the 1628 issue of the Ovid by saying that it was a printer's edition, issued without the author's editorship or even consent. It contained none of the additions in marginal notes and glossaries which the 1632 volume did, and Sandys certainly ignored it by referring to the 1632 as the "second edition."

Sandys had evidently been unexpectedly hurried in the publication of the 1626 version. In his address "To the Reader" he apologizes for the lack of explanation of the proper names: "With these I had thought, in their severall places, to have charged the margent: but the hastinesse of the Presse, and the unexpected want of leasure, have prevented me. . . ."

It is probable, from the fact that he was reappointed to his Virginia office in 1626 and 1628,[59] that Sandys always (until after 1628) intended to return to the colony. He probably hurried the publication in 1626 because his friend the King as well as he himself wished to see the work in print before the treasurer returned to his duties.

Even in 1631 Sandys showed his unflagging interest in the colony. On June 22nd of that year a special commission was appointed[60] for the "better plantation of Virginia." Sandys petitioned for appointment as secretary to the commission, on the

[58] Cf. 1626 title-page.

[59] Cf. Brown. *Genesis, op. cit.*, p. 994.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 994.

grounds that he had already spent the best years of his life in the service of the colony under King James. It has been suggested[61] that the petition was written in the colony, but those who make the suggestion fail to consider Sandys's own statement[62] that the years he spent in Virginia were under King James; that is, before 1624.

It is clear then that the very elaborate second edition of the Ovid, appearing in 1632, was prepared during the years spent in England, not in the New World.

This volume of 1632, generally considered the standard edition, and used as a basis for all the later versions,[63] is Sandys's completion of the work he had projected for himself for the 1626 volume. The 1632 title-page, engraved to resemble that of 1626, but more elaborate, is:

| Ovid's | Metamorphosis | *Englished* | *Mythologiz'd* | *and* | *Represented* | *in figures* | *by* | *G. S.* | Mdcxxxii |

Solamon Savery was the sculptor here. There are six figures, such as Amore, Sapientia, etc., and the figure of a poet in a different position from that of a similar figure in the 1626. This edition has also a printed title-page:

| Ovid's | Metamorphosis | Englished, | Mythologiz'd | *And* | Represented in Figures. | An Essay to the Translation | of Virgil's Aeneis. | *By G. S.* | Imprinted at Oxford. | By Iohn Lichfield. | *An. Dom.* Mdcxxxii | *Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum hanc Ouidij* | Translationem. |

The dedication to Charles (as in the 1626) is followed by verses to the King and to the Queen. Then comes the explanatory address "To the Reader":

[61] Lee, Sidney. "George Sandys," *op. cit.*

[62] Sainsbury. *Abstracts, op. cit., Virginia Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, VIII, 1, p. 43.

[63] Hooper, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxvi.

Since it should be the principall end in publishing of Bookes, to informe the understanding, temper the affections; in this second Edition of my translation, I have attempted (with what success I submit to the Reader) to collect out of fundrie Authors the Philosophicall sense of these fables of Ovid, if I may call them his. . . . To the Translation I have given what perfection my Pen can bestow; by polishing, altering, or restoring, the harsh, improper, or mistaken, with a nicer exactness than perhaps is required in so long a labour. . . .

"The Philosophicall sense of these fables," treated in prose at the end of each of the fifteen books, is a story in itself which deserves scholarly inspection. Suffice it to say here that Sandys gathered from dozens, perhaps scores, of the comments on mythology ancient and modern, enough material to make this Ovid in a sense a variorum edition. These notes explanatory are a curious compendium. Certainly they must have taken much of the leisure of those years between 1626 and 1632. And whether the years were all spent in England or not, it is almost impossible that Sandys could have had with him in the colony the varied sources he relies upon.

"To the Reader" is followed by plates with an Ovid portrait and medal, as in the 1626 edition, though the two engravings differ. The 1632 continues with a "Life of Ovid" and a witty dialogue called "Ovid Defended." Also in the 1632 is an elaborate engraving representing the "metamorphoses" for each book.

Sandys did more for his second edition, however, then employ more engravings and explanations, notes, and dedicatory poems. He actually did "polish and perfect" his lines. A few examples will indicate the changes:

(Book XI, 11. 7-8)

1626– See, see the Woman-hater ! then her speare
Threw at his vocall mouth; which iuiebound
Kist his affected lips without a wound.

1632– Lo he who hates our sex ! then threw her speare
At his melodious mouth; which iuiebound
Kist his affected lips without a wound.

(Book I, introductory lines)

1626– Of formes, to other bodies chang'd, I sing.
1632– Of bodies chang'd to other shapes I sing.

Another passage showing the differences between the two editions is the vivid description of a storm at sea. (Sandys probably had these lines in mind when he wrote home to England from Jamestown[64] that amidst the "roreing of the seas and rustling of the shrowdes, and clamour of the saylers" he had translated two books):

(Book XI, 11, 482 ff.)

1626– Strike, Strike the Top-Saile, let the Maine-sheet fly
And furl your sailes, the Marster cry'd; his cry
The blustering winds and roring seas suppresse
Yet of their own accord in this distresse
They ply their tasks: some seeling yards bestride
And take-in sailes; some stop of either side
The yawning leaks; some seas on seas eiect.
1632– Strike, strike the Top-saile, let the Main-shear fly,
And furl your sails, the Master cri'd; his cry
The blustering winds. . . [etc., as in 1626].

And the famous last lines of the work indicate considerable change in phraseology:

(Book XV, concluding lines)

1626– And now the work is ended, which, Ioue's rage
Nor Fire, nor Sword shall raze, nor eating Age.
Come when it will my death's uncertaine houre;
Which onely of my body hath a powre:
Yet shall my better Part transcend the skie;
And my immortal name shall neuer die.
For, where-so-ere the *Roman* Eagles spread
Their conquering wings, I shall of all be read:
And if we Prophets truly can diuine,
I, in my liuing Fame, shall ever shine.
1632– [first three lines as 1626] . . .
. . .
. . .

[64] See above.

Which of this body only hath a powre:
Yet shall my better part transcend ths skie;
And my immortal name shall neuer die
. . . [same]
. . . [same]
And, if we Poets true presages giue,
I, in my Fame eternally shall liue.

As Sandys revised, he was thinking of the strenuous days in the New World, of the wonders of that strange land in which he had translated from the stock of the ancient Romans. His petitions in 1628[65] and 1631 are external proof of this, but in his 1632 edition he inserted a little marginal note which indicated graphically the way his thoughts were running:

(Book XV, p. 497)

Where once was solid land, Seas haue I ſeene
And solid land, where once deepe Seas haue beene.
a Such have I ſeene in America[66] [a]Shells, far from Seas, like quarries in the ground;
And anchors have on mountain tops been found

The first product of a literary artistic consciousness in English-speaking America had its beginning, then, in England. Most of it, in fact two-thirds, was translated on the voyage to Virginia and in Virginia itself. Sandys's leisure moments between 1621 and 1625, the leisure moments of the hardest working[67] official in the colony, saw its completion. When Sandys returned to England in 1625, he hurriedly prepared an edition for the press, omitting marginal notes and other glosses. In 1628, without his supervision and without his consent, new holders of the original rights to the volume issued a second imprint, differing in little but trifles of spelling from the 1626. In 1632, after six years, the second complete edition, revised, polished, and annotated, appeared as the authorized version.

[65] Regarding his former tenants in Virginia (cf. Sainsbury. *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, 1860, p. 88).

[66] Passage same in 1626 but without note.

[67] Cf. Davis, R. B., *op. cit.*, for Sandys as colonial official.

It is obvious that America's part in this first example of *belles-lettres* is almost purely incidental, but it should be remembered that the Ovid was composed in the Virginia colony as the recreation of an active colonial administrator; that it was first published while he was still connected with the colony on leave in England; and that the complete and authorized version appeared while he still felt a direct interest in and connection with the colony. It is as much American as an example of the literature of power as John Smith's *General Historie* is American as an example of the literature of knowledge.

HALLAM'S "POEMS" OF 1830: A CENSUS OF COPIES

By T. H. Vail Motter

CERTAIN bibliographical misconceptions have long been current concerning the little volume which Arthur Hallam salvaged from the collapse of the plan he and Tennyson had made to issue their poems jointly, in the manner of the *Lyrical Ballads* of another pair of poets whom they knew and honored. As is well known, Hallam's father at the last minute, and when the poems were already in type, forbade the joint publication. The printers, Littlewood and Company, Old Bailey, separated Hallam's fifty titles from Tennyson's fifty-five, and assembled a certain number of copies of Hallam's, which Hallam then quietly presented to his friends in the last ten days of May and in early June, 1830. The volume, its contents largely suppressed by Hallam's father when he edited the *Remains* in 1834, was never reviewed and sank at once into an obscurity upon which certain romantic mystifications have since thrived. Of the British Museum's insistence upon cataloguing the item (as late as 1936) as of 1832, it is not necessary to speak. But of the widely held view that only two copies of Hallam's *Poems* of 1830 survive, a belief which doubtless encouraged the fantastic price of $1,000 which a copy fetched at the Kern Sale in New York in 1929, as well as of the further legend that a copy of the originally conceived joint poems of Tennyson and Hallam was struck off and preserved, it is at last possible to speak with some authority.

The late Mr. T. J. Wise is responsible for the statement in his Ashley Catalogue of Tennyson (1908, V, ii, 167) that "only two

examples in all are at present known to have survived." (Mr. Wise owned one of them.) In spite of the appearance at sales from time to time of various copies, this statement was everywhere accepted as fact, most recently by Dr. Frederick S. Boas in an article published in 1934 and reprinted in 1936 and 1937.[1] The statement is sufficiently refuted by listing the known copies. The ten which I have examined are marked with an asterisk.

Copies of this Hallam *editio princeps*, none of which has a full title-page, survive in two states, the shorter lacking two poems (in signature I) which appear in the longer. This, I am convinced, results from no design either to omit the poems or to add them, but merely from the general carelessness and haste with which the printer assembled the gatherings for the copies given Arthur Hallam for his private use.

In the 174-page state are the following copies:

1. Henry Hallam's copy*
2. Julia Hallam's copy*
3. Eleanor Lennard's copy*

Privately owned (in 1935) in the library of Beatrice Lady Lennard in the county of Kent. All three copies have 18 numbered pages of "New, Useful, & Valuable Books" published by Effingham Wilson, including (p. 18), an advertisement of *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical.*

4. Inscribed "W. Kinglake from the Author." Half-title: Poems | By | A. H. Hallam, Esq. | Catalogue of Effingham Wilson, as above. Owned by the Huntington Library.
5. Inscribed "R. C. Trench from his sincere friend A. H. Hallam." *Half-title. Owned (1935) by Geoffrey Madan, London.

[1] *Arthur Henry Hallam and In Memoriam*, In: *Queens Quarterly*, Kingston, Canada, 41, 1934, 194-205. Reprinted in *From Richardson to Pinero*, London [1936]; New York, 1937. The Wise statement appeared again in a New York auction catalogue in April, 1941.

6. Inscribed "W. Donne from the Author, May 26th, 1830."* Half-title. Formerly owned by T. J. Wise. Now at the British Museum.
7. Inscribed "J. M. Kemble from his sincere friend, the Author." * Half-title. Owned (1941) by A. A. Houghton, Jr., Queenstown, Maryland.
8. A copy bound up with *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, and inscribed "E. H. F. from Aunt Julia." Sold in New York, December, 1925.
9. An uninscribed copy belonging in 1935 to S. Parker Gilbert, New York.
10. A copy inscribed "J. M. Gaskell, from his affect[e] friend, the Author."* In the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

In the 168-page state are the following copies:

11. Inscribed "Mariquita Tennant from her husband, R. J. Tennant." * Owned by the Bodleian Library.
12. Inscribed "Mariquita Tennant," in her hand.* Owned by the Yale University Library.
13. Inscribed "From the Author." * Owned by the British Museum.
14. A copy with Tennyson's autograph in pencil and the matter from the missing pages written in by R. J. Tennant. Sold in London in June, 1928.

An additional copy now kept with the Tennyson archives in a vault in London brings to fifteen the number of known copies. The fate of copies given, as letters attest, to Gladstone and other friends, is unknown to me, nor have I been able to identify the copy owned by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, my inquiries having, apparently, miscarried.

The idea that a copy of the originally intended joint volume of poems by Tennyson and Hallam survived Henry Hallam's prohibition was first stated in a periodical in 1894, and was repeated by Mr. Hugh I'Anson Fausset in 1923 in his *Tennyson.*[2] Unfortunately, not even Hallam's reference in his *Poems* of 1830 (p. 62) to "my friend, whose name is prefixed with mine to this volume," a reference expunged by his father from the *Remains* of 1834, justifies any assumption that such a volume or such a title-page exists. The belief in their existence seems founded on rumor, and the rumor on the existence, at one time, of two volumes each composed of Hallam's *Poems* of 1830 and Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* bound up together. The first of these I have listed above as No. 8 in my census of copies. In it Tennyson's book came first, Hallam's second. The volume was sold at Sotheby's in December, 1893, and again at the Anderson Galleries in December, 1925. I have been unable to reach its purchaser.[3] The second, listed as No. 6 in my census above, contained Hallam's volume followed by Tennyson's when it was owned by Col. W. F. Prideaux. But when it passed into Mr. T. J. Wise's possession, as Mr. Wise told me in 1935, he separated the two, retained the Hallam, and sold the Tennyson.[4]

We thus conclude that, although Hallam's *Poems* of 1830 may still be regarded as a great rarity, at least fifteen copies survive instead of the two generally supposed; and that there is no truth in the story that a joint edition of Hallam-Tennyson poems ever existed.

[2] E. Stock. *The Bookworm*, No. 74, London, January, 1894, p. 48. My reference to Fausset is to the Travellers' Library edition of 1929, p. 48. Both Mr. Fausset and Mr. Roger Ingpen, who was Mr. Fausset's authority for the statement, kindly assisted my inquiries by correspondence.

[3] Cf. Frank Karslake's *Notes from Sotheby's*, London, 1909, p. 172; Also *Notes and Queries*, 8 Ser., V, January 27, 1894, p. 65; and *American Book Prices Current*, 1926, p. 680.

[4] Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 8 Ser., III, January 21, 1893, p. 52.

SOME LIMITATIONS OF MICROFILM*

By WILLIAM A. JACKSON

IT is with trepidation that I have consented to read this paper today, for from the title you might well expect that you were to hear the results of the experience and experiments of one who was daily accustomed to the use of microfilm and other photographic methods. The fact is, however, quite otherwise. And while you in my audience are at liberty either to close your ears, or leave the hall, I, on the other hand, am constrained to stand here for some few minutes and tell you of matters which I presume you know as well as I, or which would seem to you obvious had you turned your attention to them.

Some months ago, our President, Mr. Adams, conceived the idea that a symposium on the microfilm would be pertinent at such a meeting as this. He proposed that it should be opened with a plea for universal microfilming by someone like Professor Binkley, that he, Adams, should raise sentimental objections and that I should raise technical ones. As you know, Professor Binkley is no longer with us and Adams, himself, cannot come, whereas my only qualifications for raising technical objections to a proposition which you will have to imagine for yourselves has already been enthusiastically and contagiously expounded, is that when my chief, Mr. Metcalf, asked me, some time ago, what I thought of the utility of microfilm, I answered that it reminded me of what Dr. Johnson had said of women preachers. "They are," he said, "like dogs walking on their hind legs. The wonder

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Cincinnati, May 29, 1940.

is not that they don't do it well, but that they do it at all." Since that time, Mr. Metcalf has given me no peace. He has wanted to know what it is that microfilm does not accomplish and why.

In 1935, I believe it was, our respected friend, Dr. Andrew Keogh—he was probably teasing—told me that the library of the future would contain only films, that new books would be published as films and that old ones would be preserved on film. I don't suppose he realized what nightmares and distress his prophecy would give me but I do remember that I then said he could have the "libraries of the future;" I would prefer the books and that at any time he was ready to exchange the Melk copy of the Gutenberg Bible for a film I should be only too happy to oblige him. Since then I have had a little experience with films and my abhorrence of them is now slightly mingled with gratitude for the assistance they have sometimes been. I hope, however, that my relations with film will not follow the cycle which Pope outlined toward Vice: abhor, endure, embrace!

When I sat down to write this paper I was filled with envy of the topic which President Adams had reserved for himself, viz. the sentimental objection to microfilm. I think I might even be eloquent on that subject for what bookman can be thrilled with the sight of a strip of cellulose acetate, what collector could regard a little heap of rolls of film with glowing pride? Whatever may be the excesses of book collecting, librarians should never forget that it was the collectors of the past who preserved and, in many cases, gave the books which make those libraries worthy of the name. There are collectors today eagerly gathering books and manuscripts on subjects we librarians have not even thought about and which some day will be among our proudest acquisitions.

But I must, despite my inadequacy, take up the topic assigned me. Concerning it, really all I have to say is that microfilms are microfilms and not the original book or manuscript, and then sit

down, my case being stated, and allow the implications of that statement to be worked out by each one of you according to your own experience. However, I am down for fifteen minutes and so I shall employ the rest of them in elaborating this point.

A microfilm is a photographic reproduction on film, usually reduced by from 4 to 12 diameters, but capable of enlargement to the original size or larger, and, in this discussion, limited to printed or written matter. First of all, let us consider its most obvious limitation, it is a photograph taken by reflected light and in one plane. One cannot pick it up and examine what, if any, improvement transmitted or raking light will make. When one encounters an obscurity on a film one's only recourse is to greater enlargement, but in this it should be borne in mind that no amount of enlargement can provide what is not in the photograph. Indeed, it may distort or obscure it by reason of the "grain" in the gelatin of the film. Amazing things may be accomplished by means of light filters, panchromatic films, and the various rays, ultra and infra red, etc., but the fact remains that in general, the human eye is a more accurate and sensitive instrument for most purposes than the products of Messrs. Eastman, Leitz, and Lovibond. No photograph can reproduce exactly what the human eye can see in the original even though it can, with proper means, emphasize and record characteristics invisible to the naked eye. All photographs tend to exaggerate the contrast between black and white. To quote Haselden, they tend to "make handwriting seem more current and to confuse the sequence of strokes," and because of a difference in color sensitivity between the photographic plate and the eye, blue objects, such as ink, appear much lighter in a photograph, relative to red or yellow objects, than they seem to the eye. Now, these are matters of considerable importance and if the tendencies above mentioned are really perceptible to the ordinary observer they constitute a considerable indictment of photographic reproduction when ap-

plied to objects where exact verisimilitude is of utmost importance.

Now, I do not wish to exaggerate these tendencies but perhaps I can best demonstrate their extent, since it is not possible to pass around at this meeting originals and photographs, by recalling to your mind the undoubted fact that, to the trained eye at any rate, it is almost always possible to detect a photographic facsimile by the coarsening of the lines. This is accompanied in most processes by a simultaneous failure to reproduce minute lines unattached to heavier ones. It is a phenomenon familiar, I am sure, to all of you and hence I need not labor the point but rather dwell upon its significance to the scholarly use of microfilm reproduction. To put it briefly, whenever one most needs exact reproduction, i.e. when the original is confused, obscure, damaged, or faint, at that very point the microfilm or any other photographic reproduction is by its nature least helpful. It is, however, not only in these crucial passages that the microfilm fails because of this coarsening, for one can cite other instances where that characteristic severely limits the utility of the medium. For example, those of you who have done work on the identification of incunabula types are aware of the fact that even the best type-facsimiles such as those of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde or the Type Facsimile Society when placed beside original examples of the types reproduced, even when of the same page, have a disconcerting difference which must be resolved before identity can be established. How much more difficult then with microfilm from which the added obstacle of variable dimensions is inseparable. Frankly, I doubt very much if any respectable work on type measurement and identification can be done with the aid of microfilm.

Besides this coarsening which, except in crucial points, may, to a certain extent, be predicated and therefore need not be overemphasized, photographic reproduction, and particularly microfilm, sometimes introduces marks or changes of tone which do not

occur in the original. These may be due to a fleck of dust or a slight stain which unaccountably looks like an ink mark in the photograph — witness the famous fly-speck in the Halliwell copy of the first state of the Droeshout portrait of Shakespeare which Spielman, judging only from a photograph, saw as a colon instead of a period and declared to be unique. Likewise, they may be due to a change in lighting or in the exposure or development of the film. For example, in one of the Power reproductions of a unique volume in the British Museum which I was examining not long ago, there was a distinct change in the color of the pages at a point coinciding with the end of one quire and the beginning of the next. Only a re-examination of the original could resolve one's doubts as to whether that copy was a made-up one or whether the difference was purely accidental and due to splicing of films or a change in lighting or some other adventitious cause.

So far we have been discussing limitations of microfilm due to failure of verisimilitude. But there is an even greater limitation and one against which there is almost no protection, namely, the failure of the films to give one the "feel" of the original. Often, when examining a book, something quite intangible will cause one to look carefully at some part of it and so lead one to discover a cancel, a facsimile leaf, or a change of paper which may be indicative of something important in the printing of that volume. These intangibles are rarely apparent in a photograph; one cannot, without a new set of photographs, examine the paper; and no microfilm will help much in an examination of the sewing and make-up of a complicated collation. One is likewise prevented from making a comparison by means of a Tintometer, and the monochrome of the microfilm, even if it were the practice to include the bindings and end-leaves, make it impossible to note the age of the leather and the color of the end-papers and the inks, facts frequently of some importance in the study of provenance.

I might cite, perhaps, a specific instance where this failure to register color differentiation in a photograph might have caused a serious error in the dating of a letter. Mr. T. F. Currier recently showed me a photograph of a letter of O. W. Holmes written to James T. Fields and dated "Friday June 30, 1894." In editing the letter, Mr. Currier noted that in 1894, June 30 fell on a Saturday. On enquiring at the Huntington Library where the original is preserved he was told that the date "1894" is written in a different ink from the rest of the date, a matter which it was impossible to deduce from the photograph although plainly visible to the eye in the original; consequently the letter should properly be dated 1893.

To those studies usually classed as "Social Sciences," though why they should be called "Sciences" when they are incapable of definition and without disciplinary value in education is not clear, possibly it is unimportant whether a passage, a word, or a punctuation mark can be deciphered with absolute confidence. But to those students who are concerned with textual problems, it is of importance and to them I can only state that while it is all very well to do preliminary work by means of photographic facsimiles, unless they are dealing with books printed after the introduction of machine casting, they will almost always find on comparison with the original that problems insoluble from photographs can sometimes be solved with ease. But more important, problems which never would have been observed in photographs can be seen when the original is at hand. As an example of that I may cite the identification by Lawrance Thompson of the first appearance in book form of a Longfellow poem.[1] The evidence for this Mr. Thompson noted in a copy of *Boston Prize-Poems*, 1843, now in the Harvard Library. That copy once belonged to Longfellow himself and doubtless Thompson examined it with more

[1] Thompson. *An Inquiry into the Importance of "Boston Prize-Poems."* In: *The Colophon, New Graphic Series*, Vol. I, no. 4, 1939, p. 55.

than ordinary care. His scrutiny revealed that in the margin of one of the poems there had at one time been written in pencil a short phrase which was erased and could be deciphered with great difficulty and no great certainty. My point is, had Thompson seen only a microfilm of this book he would not have known there was any inscription there at all, since the only way the vestiges of the inscription would show in an ordinary microfilm would be with the aid of a raking light which would show up the indentations made by the pencil. Once the existence of the inscription was established, of course the resources of ultra-violet rays, etc., could be employed. In this case, however, it might be remarked that the fluorescence was more easily seen by the eye than in any of several photographs which were taken.

The result of all this is, as I said in the beginning, no photograph can take the place of the original. If you do not believe it, test this assertion by transcribing a difficult passage from a microfilm and then compare your transcript with the original.

Much of what I have said is, you can see, my own opinion, and possibly prejudice. But I should like to buttress my argument by quoting Captain Haselden on this point: "No authoritative conclusions regarding a manuscript can be based on the examination of any known form of reproduction thereof; the *original* must always be consulted."

Nevertheless, we may as well acknowledge that, despite its limitations, the microfilm is a useful tool, and theoretically, at least, holds such promise that its use is likely to be greatly extended in the future. While admitting all that, may we humbly suggest that, when the vast projects now being undertaken are carried through, the fact that the cost per page of reproduction is so slight should not blind us to the need of the most careful editing and marking of the films. A book lacking its title, in the hands of an expert cataloguer, is merely an interesting problem, but a microfilm of a manuscript or a book without any mark of identifi-

cation, which could have been so easily supplied, is an abomination.

Furthermore, may I remind you that the rapidity with which our microfilm equipment now can reproduce an entire book carries with it a great responsibility and even terror. If you and I, who love and venerate old books, sometimes merely because they are old and have survived, perhaps only in fragile integrity, so many vicissitudes, if we spent our lives watching a light-meter and focal lengths while we trod an exposing bulb and flicked over some thousands of leaves each day, even we might become careless and handle those leaves in such a way as occasionally might tear and certainly would weaken them. To all the classic "Enemies of Books" has now been added this devouring monster of the microfilm pressure table. By cajolery, threats, exhortation, and constant vigilance the librarians of today must guard their treasures against this danger which lurks in the distant corner where, amid his livid lights and chemical smells, the photographer has his lair.

BY-LAWS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA[1]

I.

The name of this Society shall be the Bibliographical Society of America.

II.

The object of the Society shall be to promote bibliographical research and to issue bibliographical publications.

III.

1. An annual meeting of the members of the Society shall be held, once in each calendar year, either on the same date and at the same place as the annual meeting of the American Library Association, or at such other time and place as may be called by the President on ten days' notice to the members, for the purpose of electing the trustees of the Society, to hold office until the next annual election and until their successors are elected, and for the transaction of any other business, whether or not notice thereof has been given to the members.

2. Special meetings of the members of the Society may be called by the President on ten days' notice at any time and place with the approval of three members of the Council. The business of such special meeting shall be confined to the subjects specified in the notice thereof.

3. Thirteen members shall constitute a quorum for an annual or special meeting of the Society.

[1] Adopted at a special meeting of the Trustees, held in Washington, D. C., on June 21, 1941; and amended at a meeting of the Council held in New York City on September 13, 1941. These By-Laws supersede the Constitution and By-Laws printed in the PAPERS, Vol. 34, Second Quarter 1940, pp. 92-94.

IV.

1. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Board of Trustees of ten persons, who shall be elected annually by the members of the Society as provided in By-Law III, and who shall constitute its Council. Such trustees may appoint additional persons as trustees and members of the Council, to hold office until the next annual meeting. The Council shall have control and management of the funds of the Society, may adopt such by-laws for the Society as are permitted by law and may amend the same, shall conduct its business and take general care for its interests, and shall present a report of the Council's activities at the annual meeting of the Society. The powers of the Council may, if necessary, be exercised by vote taken by mail. Any vacancies in the Council caused by death or retirement may be filled by the Council for the unexpired term of the deceased or retiring member.

2. Meetings of the Council may be called by the President, or by the Secretary on the directions of three members of the Council, on not less than three days' notice, at such time and place as may be directed in the call for the meeting.

3. A majority of the trustees in office for the time being shall constitute a quorum of the Council.

V.

1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be chosen by the Council from its members, and shall serve until the meeting of the Council following the next annual meeting or the election of their successors. A Permanent Secretary, together with other officers or paid assistants, may be appointed by the Council from the members of the Society, for such term of office as the Council may fix. One person may hold any two of the above offices. At some time before the annual meeting the President shall appoint a nominating committee to propose a list of Trustees of the So-

ciety for vote at such annual meeting. From time to time the President shall appoint a Committee on Publications, a Finance Committee, and such special committees as to him may seem advisable, with such powers as may be delegated to them by the Council. Unless otherwise specified in its appointment, the term of office of any committee shall be one year from the date of its appointment. The members of such committees need not be members of the Council.

2. The officers of the Society shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their offices, with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

3. The Secretary shall serve as the recording secretary of the meetings of the Society and of the Council and shall keep a permanent record thereof, which may be filed in the office of the Permanent Secretary.

4. The Permanent Secretary shall act as an executive officer of the Society, under the direction of the Council. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, particularly with regard to its publications, which, with the advice of such committee or officers as are in charge of publications, he shall edit and see through the press. He shall send out bills, receive dues and forward them to the Treasurer, and afford the Treasurer periodic financial statements of the affairs of his office. He shall receive a stipulated annual compensation as voted by the Council, plus reimbursements for postage, stationery, and like office supplies and expenses.

5. The Treasurer shall have full and complete charge of all the accounts and accounting matters of the Society, including the investment of its funds, subject to such supervision and direction as the Council or its duly authorized committees from time to time may impose. He shall make an audited report, at the annual meeting of the Society and at such other times as he may be directed by the Council, of the assets of the Society, and of its in-

terim income and disbursements. He shall give a surety bond, to be approved by the Council in a sum designated by the Council, for the faithful discharge of his duties.

VI.

All contracts, agreements and other like instruments purporting to be the act of the Society, shall be executed by the President or a Vice-President, and by the Secretary, Permanent Secretary or Treasurer, in order that the same shall be binding upon the Society.

VII.

1. The annual membership fee shall be three dollars, payable at the beginning of the financial year, January first. The fee for contributing membership shall be twenty dollars a year. The fee for life membership shall be fifty dollars, paid in one sum.

2. Any person or institution approved by the Council may become a member on the payment of the annual dues. Any member who shall pay to the Society the designated fee shall be a life member and exempt from future payments. Any member meeting the financial conditions may become a contributing or a sustaining member. Persons not residing in the United States or Canada may be elected as corresponding members and shall be exempt from fees. On the unanimous recommendation of all present at a meeting of the Council the Society may elect honorary members who shall be exempt from fees. The number of honorary members shall never exceed ten. Members whose fees have been in arrears for more than a year shall be dropped from the Society, but may be reinstated by the Council on the payment of back dues covering the years since their dismissal for which they have continued to receive the publications of the Society.

3. All fees of life members, contributing members and sustaining members, together with such sums as may be given for this purpose, shall be set aside as a permanent fund, the income only of which shall be used for the purposes of the Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR., FREDERICK R. GOFF, GERALD D. MCDONALD, HOWARD S. MOTT, DAVID A. RANDALL, E. MILLICENT SOWERBY, LEWIS M. STARK and EDWIN W. WILLOUGHBY.

Incunabula

AILLY, PIERRE D', *cardinal* (1350-1420?). Destructiones modorum significandi. [Lyons] Janon Carcain [about 1492] 4°.

12 leaves. Sig.: A-B^{6}. 2 cols. 50 lines. Type 2:57G; 5:160G. Printer's mark II. rubr. ^{a}.

1a: Deſtructiones modoꝝ ſignificandi. | 1b: blank. 2a, with sig. A ij, col. 1: (n^{10}) Ature vin- | culo aſtricus nō | modicum in ſciē | tijs obꝛupt com | paſſiens vt alijs | faciam quod mi | hi vellem fieri . . . leaf b: in pꝛincipio ꝙ in nullo regimine vel ali- | ends 12a, col. 2, line 13: . . . ¶Et hec de modis ſignificandi et | impꝛobationibus eoꝝum. | ¶Et ſic eſt finis deſtructionum mod- | orum ſignificandi. | [printer's mark] | 12b: blank.

The George Dunn copy, with his label and manuscript notation; his sale, no. 1034. Bound in calf, gilt, black labels, by W. Pratt; with it is bound: Dati, Agostino. *Familiarissime atque auree epistolae.* Paris, G. Le Rouge, for D. Roce, 8 February 1512.

This work is sometimes attributed to Duns Scotus; it is sometimes entered under title; the *Gesamtkatalog* will enter under Petrus de Alliaco.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4771; *Second Census*, A 423. — HERMAN R. MEAD

English Books, 1475-1800

DE BEAU CHESNE, JOHN, and BAILDON, JOHN. A Booke | Containing Divers Sortes | of hands, as well the English as French fecretarie | *with the Italian, Roman, Chancelry & court hands.* | *Also the true & iuſt proportiō of the capitall Romāe* | Set Forth by Iohn De Beav Chesne. | *and M. Iohn. Baildon.* | *Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrouillier* | *dwelling in the blacke frieres.* | M.D.LXXXI. | Cvm Privilegio. |

2 p. l., [2], p., 401. [A^{4}], B-L^{4}. (A$_{1}$, blank?, wanting.) Obl. 4^{0}.

Not listed in *STC*. Copy in DLC. — FREDERICK R. GOFF

TERENTIUS, PUBLIUS, *Afer* (c190-c159 B.C.). *Flowres* | *For latine speakinge* | SELECTED AND GA= | thered oute of Terence, and the | same translated into Englishe, together | vvith the exposition and setting forth, | as well of such latine wordes, as | vvere thought needefull to | be annoted, . . . *Compiled by Nicholas Vdall.* | ¶Newly corrected and imprinted | ANNO. 1572. | ¶Imprinted at London by | Thomas Marshe. | ¶Cum Priuilegio Regiae | Maiestatis. |

12 p. l., 192 l. A^8, B^4; A-Z^8; Aa^8. 8^{vo}.
Not listed in *STC*. Copy in DLC. — FREDERIC R. GOFF

Americana

LAURENS, HENRY (1724-1792). EXTRACTS | FROM THE PROCEEDINGS | OF THE | HIGH COURT OF VICE-ADMIRALTY, | IN CHARLESTOWN, SOUTH-CAROLINA, | UPON | SIX SEVERAL INFORMATIONS, | ADJUDGED BY | The Honourable *EGERTON LEIGH*, ESQ; | Sole JUDGE of that COURT, | AND | His Majesty's ATTORNEY-GENERAL in the said Province, | In the Years 1767 and 1768. | With explanatory REMARKS, &c. | And Copies of two extraordinary OATHS. | TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED, | RECAPITULATION, | REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM A RETROSPECT | OF A LATE CASE, | AND SOME | General OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN CUSTOM-HOUSE-OFFICERS, | And COURTS of VICE-ADMIRALTY. | [*Rule*] | [*Quotations*, 12 lines] | CHARLESTOWN: | Printed by DAVID BRUCE. MDCCLXIX.

Collation: Title, verso blank, one leaf; "Introduction," pp. iii-iv; text, beginning "The Case of the Schooner Wambaw," pp. 1-42; "A few general observations," etc., pp. [1]-4, ending "Finis"; "Reflections arising from a Retrospect of a late Case," pp. 1-5, verso of p. 5 blank, with a strip of seven lines pasted on the lower margin of p. 4.

Signatures: [A]-L in twos; M in threes ending "Finis"; separate signature A in threes, for "Reflections."

Henry Laurens was reared as a merchant in Charleston and London, and engaged in that pursuit from which he became wealthy. His conflicts with the crown judges in admiralty cases, led to publications by him in protest of their decisions. The publication here under consideration is perhaps the principal one of them, all of which fall within the years before 1771, when he retired from business. It is in respect of these years before he became a statesman of the American Revolution and successor of Hancock as president of the Continental Congress, that one can derive the motivating causes of principles he formed, and in firmness held under provocations — even whilst a prisoner in the Tower of London.

In the pioneer bibliography of the output of the provincial presses of South Carolina (*Proceedings and Papers of the B. S. A.*, Vol. 2, pp. 68-69) A. S. Salley, Jr. recorded only the second edition of the anonymous Laurens publication, from a copy in the South Carolina Historical Society of "pp. 49 + 4," and "An Appendix" of "pp. 64." The first edition here described and the enlarged second edition described by Mr. Salley, were both printed in the same year and by the same printer, David Bruce, who is found as early as 1765 as a Charleston printer, then associated with Robert Wells, another Scot. This copy was recently purchased by NN.

About the same time this library acquired a holograph letter of Henry Laurens, written to an unnoted merchant, dated "Charleston So Carolina 1st Febr$\bar{y}$ 1769," in which he said, in part: "I have waited so long for the Printer in order to shew you a Specimen here inclosed that I intend to carry the Publication relative to the conduct of the Officers of Customs &c a little further than the case of the Ann" (meaning the ship "Ann") — that I have Missed the opportunity of Mason & shall scarcely save this Blewer"; and in a postscript he added: "I intend to play the Plagiarist in the Introduction & conclusion of my Publication by adopting those in yours — for which I trust your friend will forgive me & accept it as a tribute."

In the "Introduction" (p. iii), Laurens writes thus:

> "Some few interested Persons, whose Practice it has been of late to sneer at every Complaint of Grievances in America, or to turn from them with Disdain, may perhaps object to this Publication — that it treats only of private Affairs between certain Custom-House Officers and a set of Merchants, and is therefore unworthy of publick Attention.
>
> "This *may* be the Language of a *few* who call Truth *Virulence*, and whose mistaken Policy and unbounded Ambition lead them to act as if they thought the Interest of *Great-Britain* would be most effectually promoted by the Distress of her Colonies; but it is apprehended, when all the Circumstances relative to the Informations and Prosecutions, as well as the final Sentences passed upon each Case, are properly considered and thoroughly understood, the Publick in general will not be displeased with this Appeal to them."

Further on Laurens adds:

> "The Cases before us will afford glaring Instances of what pernicious Practices may be carried on under Colour of Law, and shew how the most fair and honest Trader may be harrassed and injured in his Property, and exposed to vast Expence and Damages, by intriguing, malicious and temporizing Officers — And no one knows how soon he may be ensnared and 'Trepaned,' his Ships and Cargoes boldly seized and violently prosecuted — and either condemned as forfeited, or *partially* and *incompleatly* restored, without even the *smallest legal* Pretence for Seizure."

By making known these extracts of cases Laurens "hoped that the Publication" would, "prove of general Utility to his Majesty's *American* Colonies, by putting Merchants on their guard against the Artifices of wicked Officers — and possibly

by drawing the Attention of Persons in higher Stations, from whom such Officers pretend to derive Authority and claim Protection."

Henry Laurens in May, 1767, was the owner of a schooner, the "Wambaw," which was "a small coasting Vessel not capable of stowing fifteen Tons of Rice, with sufficient Room for Provisions and Mens Lodging for a foreign Voyage, though never sailed upon such Voyages, but kept wholly for the Use of his own Plantations — having Occasion to send Provisions for the immediate Sustenance of his Negroes upon a new settled Plantation on the River Altamaha, in the Province of Georgia."

This schooner was followed to the same Georgia plantations by another schooner owned by Laurens, "quite a new Vessel," called the "Broton-Island-Packet." Still another case related to "the Ship Ann, of Bristol, George Torten, Master," which vessel was "owned by four *British* Merchants, only one of whom, viz. Henry Laurens resided in South-Carolina." This ship "lay at Charlestown in June 1768, for a Loading of Rice, &c., for Bristol."

The cases relative to the aforesaid three vessels fill the larger part of the Laurens publication.

It is from the "General Observations" at the end of the cases that the political implications can be most clearly viewed, about "American custom-house officers and courts of vice-admiralty," as Laurens interpreted them. At one point he exclaims:

> "O America! how great would be thy Happiness, and the Happiness of that Empire with which thou art so closely united in Interest and Affection, could a Physician be found of sufficient Probity and Wisdom to undertake a perfect and radical Cure of those Disorders under which thy Trade at present languishes."

In another place he takes up the bearing of the navigation acts upon American merchants, declaring:

> "It is by no Means intended to arraign the Wisdom or good Intentions of the Compilers of the Laws relating to Navigation; but this must be said, there are some particulars therein which appear to an American hard and peculiarly grievous.
>
> "An American thinks it hard he should be obliged to purchase almost all the articles he makes Use of from Great-Britain at an high Price, and at the same Time be prohibited from carrying his own Produce to the most advantageous Market; whereby the British Merchant is enabled to set his own Price, not only on British Goods, but also on the produce of America. By this Means the American pays a much greater Tax than any Person of equal Fortune on the other Side of the Atlantick, exclusive of the Sums he is bound to contribute towards the Support of the provincial Government under which he resides."

Laurens cites other grievances of America, a prospect which "affords him the utmost Concern, what will be the Consequence of this Deviation from what our Ancestors looked upon as the Bulwark of their Liberties, and a fundamental Principle of the British Constitution." And in concluding these "general observations," he averred: "These are the Sentiments of an American who glories in the

British Constitution, and in being a Member of the British Empire — whose Heart bleeds to think that the Interest of Great-Britain and America should be separated in Idea, when they are in reality so closely united, and who would wish to preserve and perpetuate that Empire and that Constitution great and inviolate to latest Times."

— Victor Hugo Paltsits

Modern Literature

Crane, Stephen (1871-1900). "The Famine of Hearts." | [a line] | No. 33. Quarterly. | Tales | From | Town Topics. | [a line] | September, 1899. | [a line] | New York: | Town Topics Publishing Company, | 208 Fifth Ave. and 1128 Broadway.

Collation: pp. 256; consisting of p. (1), title-page (verso: 1899 copyright notice); pp. (3)-5, contents; p. (6), advertisements; pp. 7-247, text; pp. 248-56, advertisements.

(5 x 7⅝); issued in pinkish brown wrappers, letters in black. Front cover: Entered At New York Post-Office As Second-Class Mail Matter. | No. 33. Issued Quarterly. | September, 1899. Subscription $2.00 Per Annum. | [a line] | Tales From | Town Topics | And | The | Famine | Of | Hearts | By Anne Mac Gregor. | [a line] | Town Topics Financial Bureau | See advertisement inside. Backbone: The Famine Of Hearts Tales From Town Topics. (No. 33) | Price, 50 cents. Top edge uncut; other edges cut. Advertisements on all but front cover of wrappers.

This unrecorded Crane item, about the same size and appearance as the ordinary dime novel, contains on pages 119-123 a story, signed at the end "Stephen Crane," and titled "In The Tenderloin. A Duel Between An Alarm Clock And A Suicidal Purpose." So far as I can determine this is its first and only appearance. And, incidentally, outside of the Mac Gregor novel, which fills about half of the book, it is the only piece in the volume carrying a real name. All of the other contributions — poems, jokes, short stories, epigrams, etc. — are credited to The Citizen, The Chump, The Story Teller, The Jeerer, The Linguist, etc., etc.

— Charles Honce

[Housman, A. E. (1859-1936).] Odes from the Greek Dramatists. London, 1890.

Since writing the bibliographical note on reprintings in book form of A. E. Housman's translation of three poems from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (see *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 34, No. 3, p. 274, 1940), I have located, with the help of Mr. Harry J. Runyan, of Madison, Wisconsin, several additional printings.

The translation of the Sophocles ode appears in the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation*, edited by T. F. Higham and C. M. Bowra (Oxford, 1938), as No. 338 (pp. 378-379), titled "Old Age." Notes in the back indicate that it was

reprinted from Alfred W. Pollard's edition of *Odes from the Greek Dramatists* (London: David Stott, 1890).

The Sophocles and Euripides translations also appear in *The Glory That Was Greece*, by Walter R. Agard (Pittsburgh: Scholastic Publishing Co., 1930), p. 29. The Euripides is printed in its entirety, but the Sophocles, in addition to many misprints, omits the nine lines from "And He that looseth from labour" to "And straightway again art not," inclusive. This pamphlet is a reprint from the *Scholastic* magazine, Vols. 15 and 16, 1929-30.

The translation by Housman from Euripides occurs another time in an article entitled "Fate and Freedom in Greek Tragedy," by Walter R. Agard, in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 119-120, November 1933. This and the second and subsequent printings of Holt's edition of *The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman* (New York, 1940, p. 246) give the only correct readings of line 2: "Far seeking" instead of "Far-seeking" as was erroneously printed in Pollard's *Odes*. (See Mr. Runyan's article, "An Emendation to A. E. Housman's Translation from Euripides' 'Alcestis' [962-1005]," in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 56, No. 6, p. 458, June 1941.)

—William White

The Papers of the
Bibliographical Society of America